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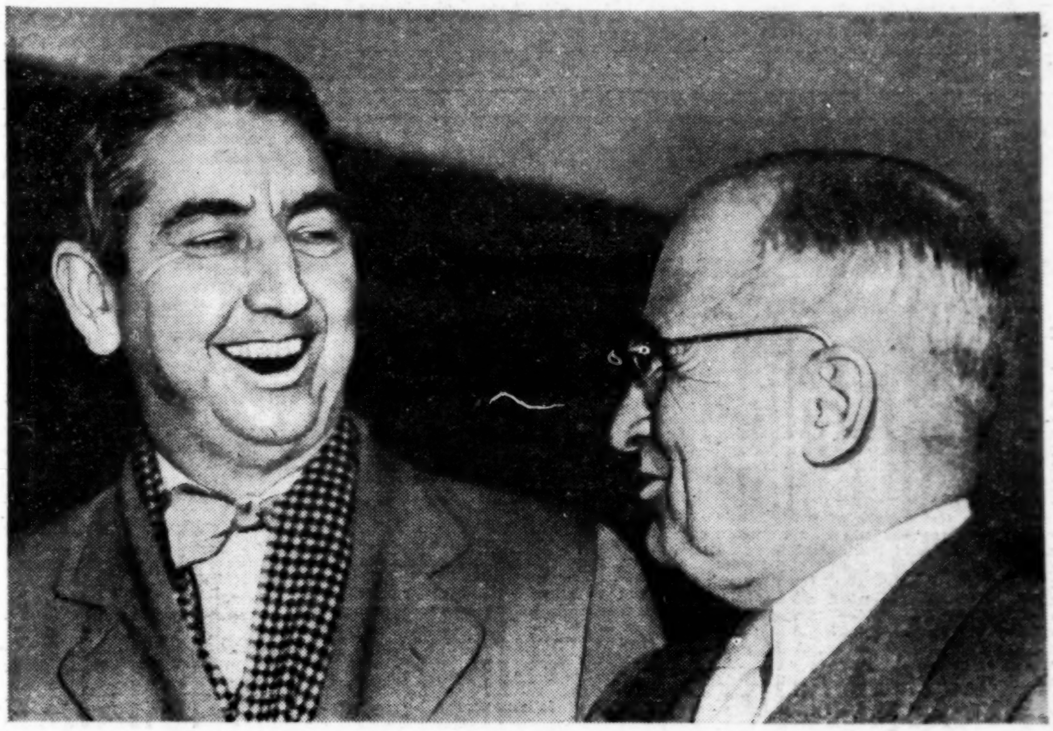

Harry, you really send me!

And Harry really did. He sent Tom Clark to the Supreme Court as thousands groaned. For a picture of what Clark's really like, see p. 3.

Are you fighting the Mundt-Ferguson bill?

Congress threatens our form of government

THIS week the Senate Judiciary Committee is scheduled to begin consideration of the Mundt-Ferguson bill, the 1949 version of last year's Mundt-Nixon bill.

This bill is the most repressive measure ever to threaten the American people — worse even than the Alien and Sedition laws with which American Tories tried to stifle the newborn democracy 150 years ago.

It has been broadly condemned as a "blueprint for fascism in America," as a thought-control measure, as a one-stroke nullification of the Bill of Rights. These characterizations are fully justified; furthermore, some of the Mundt-Ferguson language tallies almost word for word with Hitler's racial Nuremburg Laws of 1933.

IN PLAIN terms the aim of the bill is to hang the "communist" label on each and every endeavor of the American people (individually or in groups) to improve their welfare. For citizens with the courage to stand by their convictions despite defamation, jail sentences are provided.

Consideration of organizations coming within the purview of the bill would be in the hands of an administrative board similar to the present Loyalty Review Board, set up by the President.

The Loyalty Review Board acts on the basis of a list of more than 150 organizations arbitrarily listed as "subversive" by Attorney General Tom Clark. These organizations would, without doubt, be automatically blacklisted; others would follow in rapid order.

Any group so blacklisted would be forced to register as a "Communist organization" and label all its mail and published material "disseminated by a Communist organization." On registering, the organization would have to submit full membership lists, financial records, etc.

UNDER these terms, of course, no non-Communist organization in its right mind would register. That is where the penalties pile up. The organization blacklisted and refusing to register would be declared illegal. Its leaders would be subject to separate prison sentences for each day they fail to register—amounting to life imprisonment for any man or woman of principle. Its members would be individually responsible for resigning, on pain of imprisonment.

The prospect of organizations "escaping" Mundt bill attention is almost laughable. Tom Clark's list of alleged "subversive" groups started out in 1947 with 11 listings. Now it has more than 150. The additions of the various "un-American" committees exceed 600 and extend to groups organized to fight the poll tax, advance fair employment (FEPC) legislation, establish Negro rights and even to challenge the acts of erring legislators (for example, witness the blacklisting of the Los Angeles Citizens' Committee for the Recall of Councilman McClanahan.)

FOR intelligent people the best argument against the bill is the First Amendment to the Constitution: "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." One of the organizations already blacklisted is The Committee for the First Amendment.

The Mundt-Ferguson bill is not going to be beaten by sitting back and depending on others. If it is reported out of the Senate Judiciary Committee it will pass both houses of Congress. Don't bet on a Presidential veto, nor on a veto being sustained if there should be one.

The only way the bill can be beaten is by citizens' action. Last year there was formed a broad National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill. It succeeded. It is still in business and it is the only national mobilization against the bill.

YOU can—and should—do the following: wire or airmail your dissent to Chairman Pat McCarran, Senate Judiciary Committee. Wire your own representatives in Congress to oppose the measure in the Senate Committee (where every member of Congress has a right to be heard) and on the floor if it gets there.

Go to Washington yourself if you can. In any case, send a contribution to the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill, 930 K St., Washington 1, D. C.

Get busy now — unless you are willing to see the 81st Congress overthrow our form of government, starting with the First Amendment.

—The Editors

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the progressive newsweekly

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THE MAILBAG

We've been getting so many good letters that we decided to set the Mailbag in smaller type to get more in. Do you like it this way? If not, let us know.

Thanks, Janos!

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

To be away from the progressive movement of the U.S. for a month is a long time these action-packed days, especially if one knows, as I do, that it will be quite a spell before I'll see my friends there again. However one can be in touch through the GUARDIAN which is prominently displayed on all stands hereabouts.

Back in the States with all kinds of reading matter one had to wade through, the editorial excellence and the fine service the GUARDIAN renders those in the progressive movement — who need a clear-cut concise newsweekly — never fully dawned on me. Here in Budapest, the capital of the ancient Magyar nation which is feverishly laying the foundations of the building of socialism, this deported ex-American can say that the GUARDIAN is truly guarding the honor of progressive Americans by exposing the government and ruling circles of the U.S. in their mad plans of war and world conquest.

My best wishes to you and to our mutual friends.

Szanto Janos

A return salute to Szanto Janos—in plain American, John Santo—director of organization of the Transport Workers Union, CIO, who was deported to his native Hungary with an able assist from Attorney General Tom Clark. The real reason for the deportation seemed to be: effective union organization. Ed.

•

A mother's fear

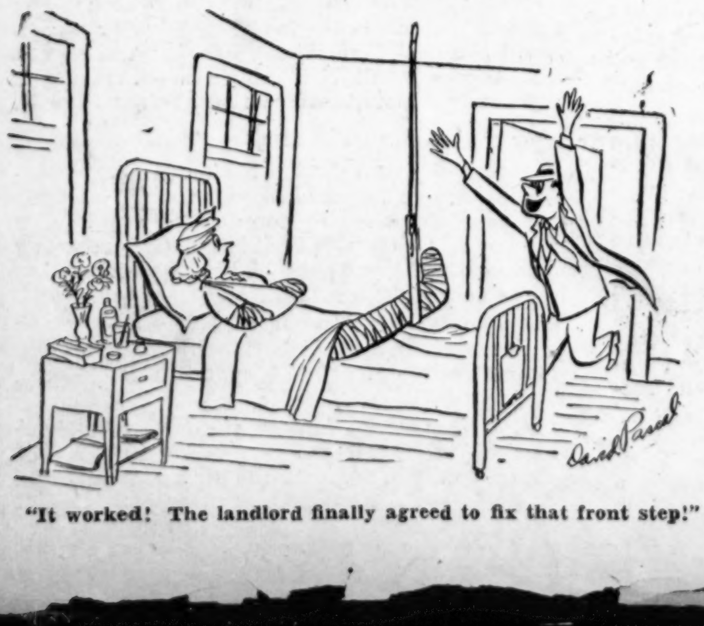
QUEENS, N. Y.

Am sending $1. Don't fail to send me the paper. I don't send a money order because my husband is trying to become a citizen. The rest I don't have to explain.

We are not "reds," as any progressive will be called. I am the mother of a veteran. Another son fell in the battle field. So you can imagine how strongly we are for peace.

Don't sign my name to this letter. I work for the city. You will say, this woman is afraid, and you are right. Fear, fear—it's all in the air.

(Name withheld)



"It worked! The landlord finally agreed to fix that front step!"

Another kind of fear

PENSACOLA, FLA.

I don't know who had the nerve to send my name to such a paper as the GUARDIAN. I will be polite enough though to ask you not to send the paper to me.

I am a white person and your news seems to be for Negroes and to stir them up. It would be wise to try to keep our peace and our country at peace than to stir up people as your paper seems to be on that line.

The South is wonderful.

Tracy Davis

•

Robeson and Robinson

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The fighting progressive spirit of the GUARDIAN, which alone will make it a great weekly, is jeopardized by the kind of temporizing treatment afforded Jackie Robinson's testimony, reported in your July 25 issue.

In spite of Robinson's condemnation of the lynchers, the fact remains that the ball player participated in a fast double-play with the Un-American Activities Committee designed to split the Negro people away from one of their truly great spokesmen—Paul Robeson. No amount of juggling of the statistics can explain away the fact that Robinson committed a costly error in allowing himself to be used against Paul, and in indulging in his own brand of red-baiting.

Milton Ost

Sorry to disagree, but we still think Jackie Robinson said some mighty telling truths about jimcrow America. We too think Robinson's one comment on Paul Robeson was silly but, like Paul, we have no big quarrel with Jackie. Ed.

•

G-Day in London

LONDON, ENGLAND

I enclose a short list of acquaintances who would like to receive the GUARDIAN regularly, if you could find someone to subscribe for them. I should like to stress again what a boon it is to get your paper. GUARDIAN day is a red letter day for me as I get to know the face of the real America.

F. P. Carr

•

Pell mell to Hell?

NEWARK, N. J.

Help! Help! The GUARDIAN took the initiative action that saved the "Trenton Six" from the death house. Can't you start a concerted movement to save all of us (here and abroad) from the death house into which the present Arms for Europe program threatens to drive us?

The Quakers' report indicates the peaceful (and therefore the constructive) road to follow. Moreover it reflects the ideas promulgated by church and ministerial groups of other denominations, and by the practical program of the World Organization for Economic Cooperation.

John Foster Dulles, after his travels abroad, could find no immediate danger of war. Paul Hoffman points out the importance of developing East-West trade, which he finds the present arms program would hamper. No one, in fact, not even top State Dept. and military officials, has proof of any threat to us that would justify the frantic effort in Washington to rush through a world armament program.

Why all the haste? Is it to railroad the plan through before the peace-loving citizens can take action, or are even aware of what is going on since most of the press is not altogether revealing?

The very haste indicates a fear of the magnitude of possible opposition. It is also a warning to those who believe in the efficacy of peace to act, concertedly and at once! Why not an immediate Peace Crusade? We have our leaders who, with key people in the UN, could organize a course of action.

Selma March Milwitzky

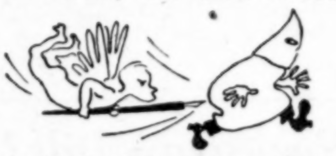
•

A bouquet to Syracuse

SYRACUSE, N. Y.

I am reporting the following incident to show that the people are still a force in our country in spite of the present campaign being waged against them.

Recently a local theater announced that it would present "Birth of a Nation," the D. W. Griffith atrocity film which slanders the Negro people and glorifies the Ku Klux Klan. A group of Syracusans representing the American Labor Party and the National Assn. for the Advancement of the Colored People visited the Mayor, requesting that the showing be banned. It was later announced, following a conference between the Mayor and the theater owner, that the film had been withdrawn.



E. C.

•

On the beam

OGDENSBURG, N. Y.

The Brannan Farm Plan story (July 25) by C. W. Fowler hits the nail on the head. The farmers, protected from the truth by the commercial and farm press, don't realize yet what has hit them.

The betrayal of the Brannan Plan, the first comprehensive farm program offered the American farmers and consumers by the present administration, by the Democrat machine boys must become common knowledge. If not, amid great demagogy, the Democrats will try to capture the farm mind . . . which has been controlled for years by the anti-farmer GOP.

Your paper is doing a great job in bringing the truth to the American people . . . keep up the good work. As John McManus says: Yours for a million GUARDIAN readers . . . and may many of them be farmers.

Alfred C. Kuchler

It's good to get such a letter from a man who knows. Mr. Kuchler is educational director of the northeastern division of the Farmers Union. Ed.

•

Not all black

CHICAGO, ILL.

In a fairly recent GUARDIAN there was a letter protesting the AMA attitude toward chiropractors. Whatever the political attitude of the organization (AMA) may be, there are many research groups within the organization that make valuable contributions to our medical life, and the attempt to inform the public of medical quacks, frauds and phonies is one of the more notable conditions in this line. The AMA position on Chiropractic has much validity. I feel there should be some rebuttal to the published letter. Because there is something rotten in one (or more) aspects of an organization I see no need to throw all its work out the window.

Caryl Conner

•

Like it, G-2?

WAYNE, MICH.

Received a copy of the GUARDIAN last week, after it was forwarded, and no doubt censored by the G-2 at Ft. Riley, where I was stationed until last February.

Hoping you reach your 200,000 circulation soon, please find enclosed my $2 check for a year's subscription.

Ronald A. Forrest

We're using them

VAN NUYS, CALIF.

Every day I get questions to answer, and usually I have the answers in the GUARDIAN, In Fact, etc., at my finger tips. But lately the question has been, "What's the baloney about the Russians inventing the telephone, cement, this, that and the other thing?" Not that it is important in the final analysis. It's been invented, and we are using it—whatever it is—and that's the important thing. But, my questioners, for use of a better name, aren't satisfied. Can you help me out? And I will in turn help them out.

Frank Bostwic[illegible]

Frankly, had us wondering, to[illegible] We agree there are more earth-shaking controversies, but we'll look into it and tell you what we find. Ed.

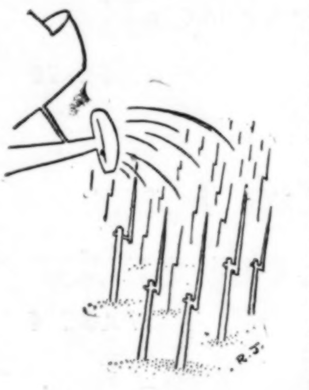
Jennings Perry

The favored Finns

THIS week, all our very top brass was in Luxembourg but the Finns got the breaks.

In Luxembourg, our brass discussed with their brass just what contribution the doughboy Luxembourgers can make to the military strength of the Atlantic Alliance and what they need from us in the way of war gear. But in Finland they had a $12,500,000 loan from the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development—with no strings attached.

That is, the loan depended on no military alliance and did not have to be justified by any "threat of Soviet aggression." It was just a loan for reconstruction and development, granted by supposedly hard-headed bankers who consider Finland a pretty good risk despite the fact that this little country is not on our side of the Rhine but right on Soviet Russia's doorstep.



THE loan is worth forty of whatever gift of guns eventually goes to Luxembourg from the U.S. arsenal; for the Luxembourgers will not be able to support the guns once they have them, while the Finns will use their credit to feather their future. They will dam streams for electricity, modernize their woodworking industry, and expand production of limestone to step up the fertility of their soil.

In five years, the Luxembourgers' guns will be obsolete. In five years, the Finnish dams and mills will be turning out the goods men live by. The Finns will be better off by their production; the Luxembourgers will be worse off by the lost production of the young men they have to divert from the fields and benches to polish the guns.

The Finns will be expected to repay the loan, and the chances are they will do it—in cash or kind. They are a people of proved probity and the loan itself will be invested profitably. The Luxembourgers will have to pay for their gift, too, possibly in blood, certainly in the man-hours wasted servicing the guns which produce nothing.

WE may say the Luxembourgers will be compensated by the sense of security the gift guns afford; and that they will by other endeavors achieve for themselves an economic stability the poor Finns, left out of the Atlantic Alliance in the cold, cannot hope to attain. t

But apparently this is not the opinion of the hard-headed directors of the International Bank. Apparently the bankers look for the Finns to keep right on living and to do well, at least for the life of the loan. They do not look for them to be victims of Soviet aggression—though they have no guns and Russia is their next-door neighbor.

Presumably the bankers expect the Finns to keep right on buying from and selling to the Russians as they do now. That is why, the chances are, the bankers consider the defenseless Finns a better cash risk than the amiable Luxembourgers who will get the guns free instead of factories on credit.

I DO not write this to blemish the progress of our touring brass (who are doing what they were sped to do to tie us to the Atlantic Pact before we might think twice about it), but to notice that there is another way, with no guns attached, in which humanity can go about the business of saving its civilization.

This is the way of actual reconstruction and development as contemplated in our great postwar commitments and instanced by the new loan to Finland—a calm, hopeful, "bankable" way requiring no gritting of teeth and whetting of swords.

I notice it because I prefer it, as do the guardians of the International Bank. And if for my money I might make a motion, it would be to spare the Luxembourgers the arms burden completely; and, for their good sense in standing apart from the new tug of force, to double the loan made to the fortunate Finns.

What is he really like?

This man Tom Clark

By John B. Stone

WASHINGTON

JUNE 21, 1946, was the 158th anniversary of the ratification of the U.S. Constitution. On that day the Chicago Bar Assn. met to hear a tall, distinguished guest speak on civil liberties.

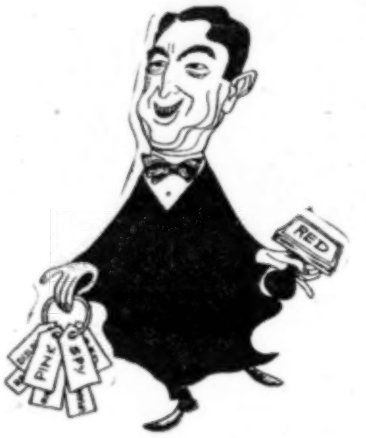
The speaker's fame had spread as one who could compensate with his Texas charm for the riskiness of his after-dinner stories. He was known as an intimate of Perle Mesta, the bi-partisan lady then building up for her final triumph as Truman's Minister to Luxembourg.

From Attorney General Tom Clark, now a nominee to the U.S. Supreme Court, the audience expected a lot of Texas tales and at least a bow to civil rights. What they got was a tirade about "deep-seated and vicious" secret plots hatched in labor unions "to destroy our unity, without which there would be no United States."

CLOAKS & BIBLES: Clark went on, according to the transcript of the speech: "We know full well what communism and fascism practice—sometimes one taking the cloak of the other. We know that in the Black Bible of their faith [**Capital? Mein Kampf?—Ed.**] they seek to capture the important offices in the labor unions, to create strikes and dissensions, and to raise barriers to the efforts of the lawful authorities to maintain civil peace."

There had been a wave of attacks on Negroes at the time. This Clark passed off with little more than a shrug. For his climax, he thundered against lawyers who undertook to represent Communists or those so labeled. "I do not believe in purges because they bespeak the dark and hideous deeds of communism and fascism," he said. "But I do believe our bar associations with a strong hand should take these too-militant brothers of ours to the legal woodshed for a definite and well-deserved admonition."

AH, SUCCESS! Clark's revelation, that June night in 1946, of his own ignorance and Hearstian fanaticism set back on their ears many conservative Chicago members of the bar. Now they are winded by the news that President Truman has chosen Clark to sit on America's court of cherished impartiality.



Son of a Texas politician-lawyer, Tom Clark has done everything since birth with an eye to getting places, say those who know him well. He married the daughter of a Texas Supreme Court judge. During World War I he served several months as a corporal, and has retained membership in the American Legion. He is a Presbyterian.

For a while in 1937 it looked as if he might be moving too fast. After he had battled successfully to elect his law partner, William McCraw, as state attorney general, Clark's fortunes took a sharp turn for the better—so sharp that the Texas Senate started an investigation. The investigators censured Clark for his unwillingness to make a full disclosure of the "tremendous and startling increase in earnings" he experienced after McCraw took office. Clark's uncommunicativeness then is in strange contrast to his denunciations of people reluctant to tell all to committees with which he now cooperates.

But the Texas committee did find out that Clark was representing the Texas Petroleum Council at $12,000 a year; and they already knew he had appeared before the Texas legislature on behalf of Safeway Stores to oppose a chainstore tax law.

"A BIT UNDEMOCRATIC": Since he hit Washington in 1937 under the benign guardianship of Texas Sen. Tom Connally, who phoned the White House from the Senate barbershop urging Clark's appointment to the Justice Dept., Clark has been in and out of government (he was Asst. Attorney General to Homer Cummings) but never out of politics.

Here are some of the things that have happened while Clark was in the Dept. of Justice:

- The President's "loyalty" program won his support;
- He has called for concentration camps for "deportable aliens," and held at least 50 aliens on Ellis Island without bail in violation of the Bill of Rights;
- He has sent the FBI into labor unions and selected hundreds of labor leaders for deportation;
- He has supported the Mundt bill and the bill to legalize wire-tapping (already so commonplace in practice that a machine to detect it is commercially advertised);
- He has formed a personal purge list of "organizations I thought were subversive," of which he said to the House Appropriations Committee on Dec. 8, 1947: "Now that is a hard job and a trying job for the reason that we did not have any hearings. It is a little bit contrary to our usual concept of democratic processes so I wanted to be careful about it."

This is the man selected by Harry Truman, in his infinite wisdom, to interpret the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights in the place of the loved, respected and mourned Justice Frank Murphy.

Those contempt cases — and

Clark's conscience

By Dan Gillmor

SOONER or later one of the contempt-of-Congress or other civil rights cases which Tom Clark's assistants have prosecuted since he took office will come before the high court. Then what happens?

Clark's predecessor, Murphy, was an Attorney General too. When the case of William Schneiderman, naturalized Communist whose citizenship the Justice Dept. acted to withdraw during Murphy's tenure, came before the Supreme Court, Murphy did not disqualify himself but voted with the majority to reverse the decision against Schneiderman. In his concurring opinion Murphy declared the Communist Party did not, at least in 1927, advocate violent overthrow of the government.

But in the same case another former Attorney General on the high court, Robert Jackson, did disqualify himself. Murphy, explained Prof. John Paul Frank in the **Yale Law Review** for April, 1947, "presumably had no direct connection with" the Schneiderman case, while Jackson "felt sufficiently involved in the same case to disqualify himself."

IN a similar situation most lawyers say Clark will "naturally" disqualify himself according to precedent, though there is no law that can make him do so.

But there are two different precedents; and theoretically all Clark would have to decide—in, say, a review of the deportation order which would send Peter Harisiades back to certain death in his native Greece — would be whether his situation more nearly resembled Murphy's or Jackson's.

Students of Clark's record may well pause when they consider how the future justice's conscience may guide him.

THE overwhelming probability is that a refusal to disqualify himself in such a case would meet with opposition from defense attorneys—though no attorney has ever demanded that a high court justice be disqualified. In that event, both Yale law professor Thomas I. Emerson and Harvard law professor Zechariah Chafee Jr., agree a situation without precedent in Supreme Court history would ensue.

If the lawyers should appeal to the eight justices to disqualify their recalcitrant associate, the court would be forced to decide whether a majority could disqualify a minority from hearing a case. In Emerson's opinion the court would never take such a drastic departure from tradition.

Who said the do-nothing 80th was bad?

The 81st Congress did plenty—and it was worse

By James Haddon

WASHINGTON

THE 80th Congress was effectively labeled a "do-nothing" Congress in the 1948 campaign. It did nothing on progressive legislation; it passed Taft-Hartley, made the first successful assault on the Wage-Hour Law with the Portal Pay Act, weakened rent controls, exempted railroads from anti-trust laws and put the Truman "cold war" Doctrine into effect. But it did kill many bad bills pushed by special interests.

What's the score on the 81st? It has rubberstamped most of the damage done by the 80th, and has written into law, or is on the point of so doing, nearly all the bad bills which smelled too much for the 80th.

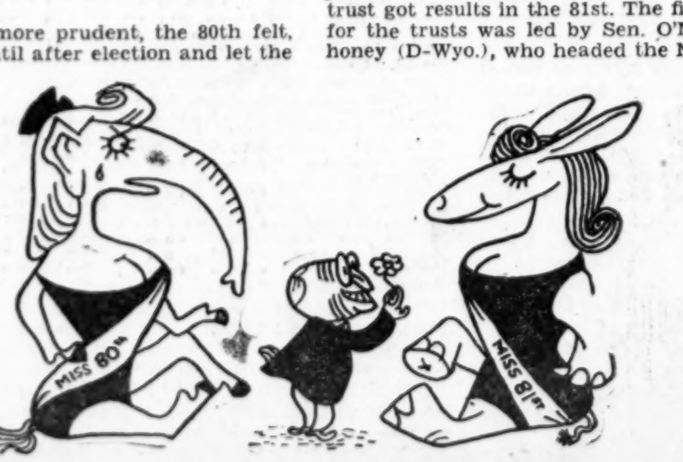
81st DEGREE LARCENY: In the Republican-dominated 80th, Rep. Goodwin (R-Mass.) tried in vain to get committee action on the bill falsely named the "overtime-on-overtime" bill by shipping and NAM lobbyists. Rep. Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) called it "grand larceny" against longshoremen. On July 14 the 81st approved (and Truman has since signed) this bill—HR 858—which, overriding a Supreme Court decision in the longshoremen's favor, cuts back-pay awards in excess of $15,000,000.

Instead of the Wage-Hour Law improvement pledged in the campaign, the 81st has given us a sequel to the Portal Pay Act.

TO STEEL, WITH LOVE: The 80th shied off from openly and hastily sweeping aside the Supreme Court decision in the Cement Institute case on April 26, 1948, which found the basing point system to be part and parcel of a price-fixing conspiracy by steel, cement and a dozen other trusts.

It was more prudent, the 80th felt, to wait until after election and let the 81st override the decision. Everyone expected the 81st to be overwhelmingly Republican. One factor dictating prudence was the discovery by Rep. Wright Patman (D-Tex.), staunch defender of small business, that the 80th's Advisory Committee on basing point legislation included 15 representatives of firms charged with anti-trust law violation.

Although Democrats did the unexpected in November, 1948, the steel trust got results in the 81st. The fight for the trusts was led by Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.), who headed the New Deal TNEC investigation of monopoly, and the basing point system has passed both House and Senate.



Miss Sellout of 1949

FAIR SAILING: In the 80th, attempts to make consumers of natural gas shell out about $50,000,000 more each year were twice defeated in the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. GOP Rep. Rizley and Sen. Moore of Oklahoma left the congressional scene in November, but new Democratic Senators Lyndon Johnson (Tex.) and Robt. Kerr (Okla.) took up the cudgels for natural gas producers with greater skill. They got the natural gas bill through committee where Rizley and Moore failed.

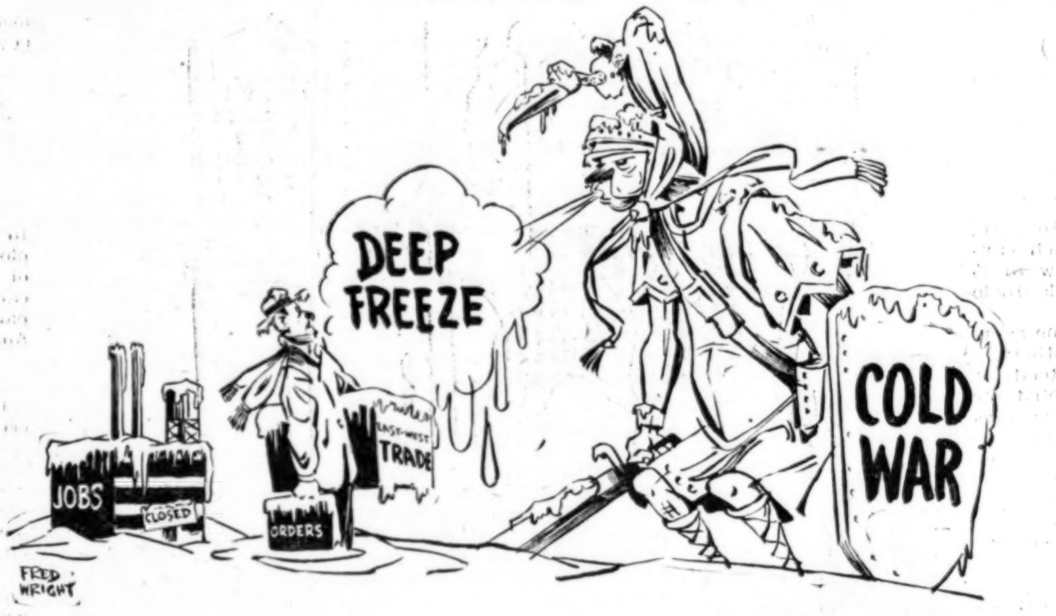
DOING PLENTY: Attorney General Tom Clark's new thought-control bill, the Internal Security Act, now pending on the Senate calendar, goes far beyond the moves of the 80th. It has been branded unconstitutional by the National Lawyers Guild because it would punish persons for legal acts and smears groups of U.S. citizens as spies without proof or trial.

The 81st may not be producing on Taft-Hartley, Wage-Hour, social security, health insurance or any other of the numerous campaign promises. But it cannot be called a "do-nothing" Congress. It is putting across a substantial portion of the 80th's program where the 80th failed.

This is the face of cold-war America

Unemployment skyrockets across the nation

July Census Bureau figures for country-wide unemployment topped 4,000,000 for the first time since January, 1942—an increase of 217,000 over June. The Bureau calculates from a small sampling, omits workers laid off less than 30 days, and always trails far behind the real figure. GUARDIAN correspondents report below on the situation in many parts of the country:



The Union Pacific 'furloughs' 400

OMAHA, NEB.

Local Chamber of Commerce, quoted in the **World Herald,** sees no depression hereabouts; Union Pacific at the same time announces 400 "furloughs" of mechanical employees—220 in Omaha shops. P. J. Lynch, railway vice-president, says he hopes the dismissals are only furloughs but he can't be sure: "Traffic is down 12 to 14% from a year ago."

Illinois jobless up 50% since November

CHICAGO

Illinois unemployment is up from 101,000 last November to over 167,000 now. For Chicago alone, increase over June is 12%; jobless benefits going to 107,343; relief load approaching 50,000. South Side Unemployed Council claims 50,000 Negroes are jobless. New unemployment insurance law hikes weekly benefits from $20 to $25 but further limits eligibility; also saves employers an estimated $10,000,000 yearly by reducing contribution rates to compensation reserve fund, which now contains more than $500,000,000.

Elsewhere in Illinois unemployment rose, from March to May: Peoria-Pekin, 4,600 to 5,700; Joliet, 2,300 to 3,100; Galesburg, 1,600 to 2,400. With 175,000 on state relief rolls, relief payments have been cut 10% (children 5%). Chicago relief administrator Alvin E. Rose said this means food-budget cut for families of four from $61.90 a month to "below subsistence" $50.07.

Half of workers jobless in Argonne

ARGONNE, WISC.

Employment in this woodworking community is off by 50%. Reasons given: lack of demand for lumber and wood products. Local business men begin to complain of effect of unemployment on their income; CIO International Woodworkers, to organize people on relief.

N.M. union seeks a special session

BAYARD, N. M.

A delegation from Local 890, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO), won from Gov. Mabry at Santa Fe a promise to call a special session of the Legislature on unemployment if 2/5 of the legislators ask for it. The union has sent a petition to every legislator, asking for such a session.

Negroes are first in Houston layoffs

HOUSTON, TEX.

Official unemployment here 17,200. Fresh layoffs announced in oil, railroads, hit Negroes hardest.

Over 55,000 out in the Bay Area

SAN FRANCISCO

Despite expertly scrambled figures in local papers, Bay Area unemployment totals 55,450, including veterans who have been receiving 52-20. Total a year ago was 37,750. Biggest drops were in ship, steel, iron, machinery manufacture. Gain in cannery employment offset some losses elsewhere during May and June.

Wages were $70-$80; take-home now $44

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

Employment in this paper-making community of 2,000 is down 14% since 1947. Overtime is a thing of the past, so that wages of those working are now about $44 take-home, against $70-$80 two years ago.

Big Michigan areas are seriously hit

BAY CITY, MICH.

Of 15,000 employables in this city, 2,800 are out of jobs, about 3,000 more on part time. Female workers as a group are ⅔ jobless. Hardest hit are woodworkers, millhands, construction workers, female factory hands. Electrical and construction machinery plants once doing brisk business with eastern Europe now lack orders, have cut employment more than 25%. Unemployment level approaches the 3,000-3,500 figure prevailing during last depression. Local businessmen, suffering 25% drop in service trades such as laundries, restaurants etc., are pushing for a local public works program, which may throw another hoop around the barrel.

Michigan State College has cut out 62 teaching jobs. Mines in upper Michigan are closing. Other hard-hit communities are Jackson, Muskegon, Muskegon Heights, Benton Harbor, Grand Rapids (10,000 jobless). Cities are pushing for work projects, relief aid.

Public works program announced in N.Y.

NEW YORK

Day and date with the launching of a Republican boom to send Gov. Tom Dewey to the U.S. Senate this fall, the governor announced that $575,000,000 of state funds would be available for public works in "the battle against recession." Dewey's report listed 582,099 persons, including veterans, as receiving unemployment benefits during the week ended July 22—an increase of 34,099 over the previous week and a rise for the year of 235,576. Over $190,000,000 of the funds are already contracted for, leaving 381,000,000 available for the rest of the year. Projects—highways, schools, hospitals—will be allocated to unspecified hard-hit areas. Hardest-hit area in the state is N.Y. City, with nearly 390,000 of all claimants.

Why wages hold the key to prosperity

By Tabitha Petran

PURCHASING power is the lifeblood of our economic organism. Even in 1948, when many consumers were priced out of the market, 70% of our total production went into consumption. Three-fourths of this consumption is supported by the wages of workers.

Wages are thus the biggest single factor in keeping the economy healthy. If wages decline, purchasing power runs low and the economic organism sinks into crisis.

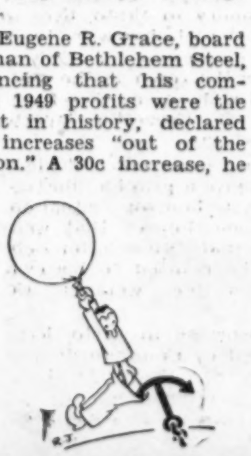
The most important single issue before the nation today in terms of restoring economic health is labor's fight for a wage increase. Here's proof:

- An average wage increase of 25c an hour would pump 19 billion dollars in purchasing power into our sick economy. This blood transfusion would so increase production that jobs would be provided for 4,000,000 U.S. workers.
- An average 25c-an-hour wage increase would leave the corporations at current levels of operation, with profits equal to pre-war. Actually the new purchasing power would boost production and send profits above pre-war.

GOLDEN "RUIN": Industries like steel, auto, electrical manufacture, can afford to pay a substantially higher increase.

The CIO Steel Workers are asking 30c an hour. Robert Nathan at the steel fact-finding hearings estimated that steel, operating at 80% of capacity (its current level) and on June prices and costs, could grant this increase and still top 1946-48 average profits.

Yet Eugene R. Grace, board chairman of Bethlehem Steel, announcing that his company's 1949 profits were the highest in history, declared wage increases "out of the question." A 30c increase, he said, "would raise costs $10 to $12 a ton and touch off ruinous inflation."



THE GRAND ILLUSION: But prices are not, as corporations argue, geared to wages.

Between 1936 and 1940 wages went up 25% while prices rose only 1%. In 1941 wages increased another 25% while prices climbed 5%. In the postwar period, prices far outstripped wages.

Wage increases can, and must, come out of profits. Corporation profits are lower this year than last, but still much higher than in any year before 1947. Profits of the big corporations are still setting records. DuPont's first half 1949 profits were 38%, General Motors 46%, higher than the same period in 1948. U. S. Steel's were the highest in 20 years.

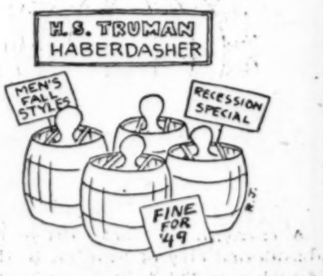
PRODUCTIVITY & JOBS: Wage increases are also possible and necessary because of rising productivity. In the past decade productivity in steel rose about 50%. This means two workers can now produce what three did before. It is estimated that productivity for industry as a whole is increasing at the rate of about 5% a year.

Productivity reduces costs, making it possible to raise wages, lower hours of work, and reduce prices. Instead, the big monopoly corporations try to cut wages and employment while they hold up or raise prices. In this way the benefits of higher productivity are siphoned into super-profits, not into higher living standards.

DANGER IN THE PIE: Without a substantial wage increase, the nation will head into a more serious stage of economic crisis.

Despite highly publicized so-called "rounds" of wage increases won since the war, U. S. workers took a 15% cut in real wages between 1945 and 1948. In the same period corporation profits increased by more than 130%. Since the peak of the boom in November, 1948, wages and salaries have fallen six billion dollars a year.

Labor's slice of the national income pie has thus grown steadily smaller while that of the corporations got much bigger. From 66% of the national income in 1939, labor's share fell to 61.7% in 1948. In 1929, when the crisis developed, labor's share of the national income was 59.2%.



Thus already in 1948, when the boom was at its height, labor's share of the national income had dropped close to the danger line, presaging economic crisis.

TRUMAN'S MOUSE: In the light of these facts, the real failure of President Truman's touted program to meet the "moderate recession" is its support to the big corporations to hold down wages.

As against the 19 billion dollars of purchasing power a moderate 25c average wage increase would provide, he proposes **planning** more public works. He asked an increase of only 750 **million** dollars in public works **spending.**

This would provide jobs for only about 150,000 people at a time when there are 5½ million unemployed (United Electrical Workers estimate) and many more partially unemployed.

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

THE WORLD

Misery is labeled: Made in U.S.A.

EMPTY coca cola bottles litter backyards in Cairo, London, Antwerp, Tokyo and New Delhi. A French cartoonist looked at one and saw in it a symbol to replace the venerable Uncle Sam.

The omnipresent coke was one symbol of U.S. power; there were others.

Working men and women stood on breadlines, demonstrated or rioted for jobs or enough to eat, protested against laws suppressing strikes and outlawing political parties. More and more were wondering if, along with cokes, the U.S. had not exported austerity, a slump, and a Taft-Hartley Act with jurisdiction over the non-socialist world.

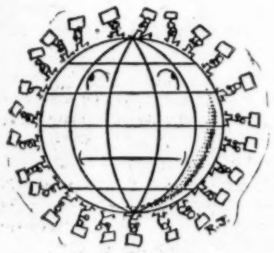
All these manifestations, many believed, carried the label: MADE IN U.S.A.

Australia: jailed miners

Five weeks ago, in the middle of a bitter Australian winter, coal miners struck for a 35-hour week and a $6-a-week raise. Parliament forbade withdrawal of funds from any bank for strike purposes. When the miners refused to turn over $48,000 of their own strike fund, the union's president and secretary were sentenced to one year each in prison, and the union was fined $6,400.

The Ironworkers' Federation and the Communist Party had contributed money and help to the strikers. Leaders of both organizations were jailed and fined. Party headquarters in Sydney were raided. The Communist Party was forbidden to aid the strikers in any way. The Labor government boasted its toughness.

The miners are still on strike. Seamen and dockers have struck in protest. Last week troops entered the pits. In several cities they clashed with angry miners and dockers. The jails filled.



Israel: bitter immigrants

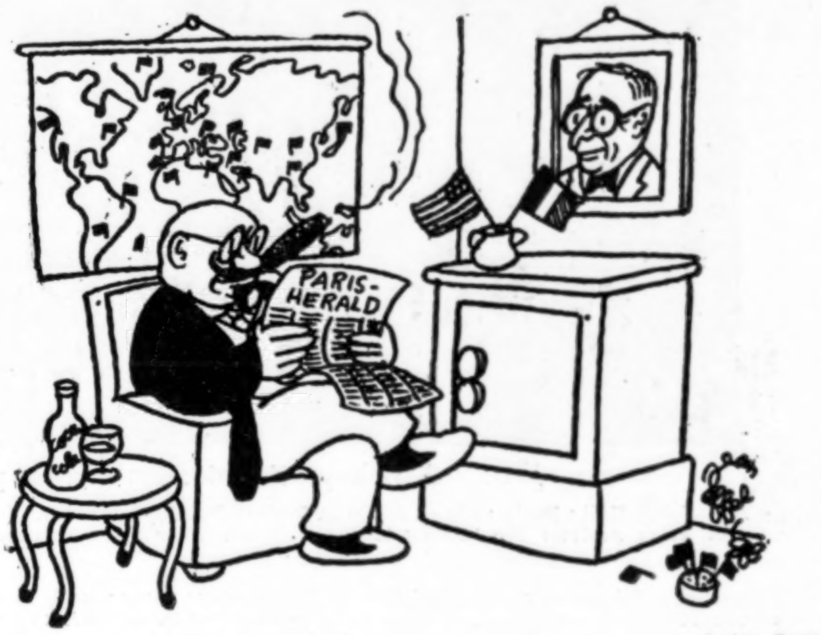
A caravan of trucks drove from the abandoned city of Ramleh to the Labor Ministry in Tel Aviv. They bore 500 unemployed immigrants who had sought haven in Zion. The demonstrators shouted for "work and bread." In Ramleh alone there were 8,000 unemployed squatters.

On July 15 the government's austerity program cut all workers' pay $6 a month. In Tel Aviv and the industrial area of Ramat Gan, 4,000 dockers and factory workers walked out on a one-day strike in protest. Israel must export for U.S. dollars, face toward socialism or perish. The government pinned its hopes on enticing General Motors to set up shop in Tel Aviv. It had a deal with Ford.

France: deep freeze

In June there had been 1,000,000 on strike. In September there might be 1,000,000 more. Unions demanded a 5,000-franc vacation bonus for the underpaid, underfed French factory hands. (It would pay for a train ticket to the countryside.)

Premier Henri Queuille asked for a vote of confidence in his ability to raise the fund without taking it out of the workers in taxes. He squeaked by with a margin of three votes. Then the deputies adjourned, leaving him with three months' power to negotiate pacts, maintain the wage freeze and hold down the strikes. The shy but cagy Queuille thus became the first post-war premier to last a year.



Action, Paris

The Coca-Cola-borator

NO SHIPS, NO DRESSES: Several thousand shipbuilders of St. Nazaire called off their strike in time to go on their annual vacation. They threatened to run the holiday into another stoppage at vacation's end. In Paris 14,000 dressmakers walked out on the eve of the fashion shows. Most earn 15c an hour and work only part of the year. They rallied in front of the stock exchange. Manufacturers offered everything but more pay. The government's wage freeze supported them.

India: democracy with bars

Warehouses were glutted with textiles; orders had slacked off. Unemployment was mounting daily at the mills. The U.S. was pushing Japanese textiles in the world market. The jails were still filled with those arrested during the railroad strikes of last winter. Calcutta suffered terror and police fired on a women's demonstration. The government of Pandit Nehru was hailed in Washington as the bastion of democracy in the East.

Philippines: rice

In Cabantuan more than 500 hungry men, women and children stormed a government warehouse demanding rice.

Italy: it's a myth

Austerity and the wage freeze brought a triple threat of strikes on the waterfront, the railroads and the telephone exchanges. Facing a drop in wages and fearing unemployment, 1,000,000 building workers are on strike. In March there were 1,836,200 unemployed in the country. In the Chamber of Deputies Communist Deputy Giancarlo Pajetta accused some government partisans of "agitating the myth of Americanism."

All over

In the western zones of Germany, in occupied Japan, in Marshallized Britain, unemployment grew and labor became more restive. In Greece, Malaya, Viet Nam and Burma the cold war of joblessness, austerity and police rule had long since given way to hot, flaming gunfire.

In Latin America crises manifested themselves in coups on a government level, strikes on an economic one.

Of all the lands maintained by the dollar, only in the cast-iron fascism of Spain and Portugal were there no strikes.

CHINA

U.S. resigned: Chinese get China

THE U.S. last week formally surrendered in the battle for China. The Chinese had won.

The surrender document was a 1,054-page white paper detailing U.S.-Chinese relations. Secretary of State Dean Acheson's gloomy letter of transmittal contained the key.

On the underlying reasons for defeat, he said: ". . . physical and human devastation to a large extent de-

Continued on following page

In marshallized Italy

Fewer jobs, poor housing — but they got plenty Coke

By William Wolf

ROME

WHAT is the U.S. trying to do through its ECA in Italy? The function was explained to me by one of its top officials here. Ensconced at his desk in ECA headquarters behind layers of slick publications and posters telling the Italians (with U.S. taxpayers' money) what ECA has done for them. George Baker, assistant chief of industry, said:

"Our job is to keep a balance between the U.S. and Italy, and to prevent them from getting together—because the moment that happens ECA will fall flat on its * * *."

Many people throughout Italy wish it would. To the workers of Sesto San Giovanni, a small suburb of industrial Milan which I visited, the effects of the Marshall Plan have become painfully apparent. Out of a population of 45,000, 6,000 people are out of work, many of them with large families to support.

VANISHING INGOTS: These people don't understand the fancy explanations. All they know is that the Breda works in Sesto were manufacturing steel ingots—until Italy began receiving steel ingots under the Marshall Plan and the Breda works laid off 2,000 workers.

"The trouble is," said Mrs. Guglielmina Longhi, wife of Italy's Senator Longhi and one of the most respected citizens in Sesto, "that America with its Marshall Plan isn't aiming primarily to help Italy. Its main concern is to find markets for its own products even if it means harming our industries. We don't want finished products. Send us more raw materials. Our factories can make our own products."

The situation in Sesto is repeated everywhere. In Milan, 136,700 out of a working force of 400,000 are idle. That means one out of every three. In the province of Florence nearly half the working population, some 40,000, are without jobs. There are 2,500,000 unemployed throughout Italy and the number constantly increases.

DAMP LUXURY: There is a shortage of adequate housing: rents are too high and wages too low. Matteo Cozzetti, an employee of the large Falck iron foundry in Sesto, lives in one damp room with his wife, three children and mother-in-law. Only a curtain divides the room in the middle. Compared with some other families in Sesto, the Cozzettis' "apartment" is luxurious.

Matteo doesn't know much English, but enough to give a graphic illustration of Italy's housing situation. Pointing to some houses that were being built he said: "Houses for rich. Good." Then he pointed to his own home. "Houses for workers. No damned good."

In some towns, as in Sesto, local governments led by Communists and Nenni (left-wing) Socialists have tried to alleviate the situation, but the national government has been completely inactive.

'WARE SUBMARINES! Faced with problems on every side, Italy could help herself by increasing her trade with the rest of the world, especially with the East European countries, but ECA officials have vetoed the idea. George Baker put it like this:

"If I had my way I'd cut Eastern Europe down to its bootstraps in trade and show them who is boss even if we have to starve them out. I'd just tell them to get behind that iron curtain and come to a showdown." Baker explained that ECA had forbidden the Italians to ship railroad engines to Eastern Europe because "after all, they really may want to put them in submarines."

Baker admitted that ECA had made "mistakes" in flooding the country with products that Italy could make. He shifted some of the blame for unemployment on the "inefficiency" of Italian factories and the bribes which Italian businessmen—with connivance of the Italian government—pay to officials who make requests to ECA for permission to import unnecessary items.

ROCKS OF AGES: He pointed out that ECA scrutinized import applications carefully: "We had to turn thumbs down on an attempt to bring a half million washing machines into the country. Sure, washing machines are all well and good and Italy doesn't have any, but women here have been washing their clothes on rocks for years and years; there is no reason for them to change now at the cost of American dollars."

If the U.S. really wants to help Italy progressive Italians propose that the gigantic agricultural and industrial monopolies be broken up, basic industries nationalized; social security benefits and low-cost housing increased, and Italy released from its suicidal part in the cold war.

Continued from preceding page

stroyed the emerging middle class which historically has been the backbone and heart of liberalism and democracy."

On final surrender: "The unfortunate but inescapable fact is that the ominous result of the civil war in China was beyond the control of the government of the United States. . . It was the product of internal Chinese forces, forces which this country tried to influence but could not."*

WARNING FINGER: Considering the future, the Secretary was resigned: "We will not help the Chinese or ourselves by basing our policy on wishful thinking." He was cautious. Our policy "will necessarily be influenced by the degree to which the Chinese people come to recognize that the Communist regime serves not their interests but those of Soviet Russia and the manner in which . . . they react to this foreign domination."

He warned the Communist regime not to "lend itself to the aims of Soviet Russian imperialism and attempt to engage in aggression against China's neighbors." In closing he spoke of "our friendship for China, our traditional support for the Open Door and for China's independence and administrative and territorial integrity."

The Communists took Changsha on the road to Canton, and the country was filled with stories of widespread defections in Nationalist ranks. These included whole armies from privates to generals.

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* Were Secretary Acheson a GUARDIAN subscriber, he would have known this on Nov. 1, 1948, when in our third issue Max Werner wrote that salvaging Chiang was ". . . beyond the possibilities of any U.S. aid with money or weapons."

Germany—the election season pot boils over

A Socialist Unity Party rally of 25,000 in Berlin's Potsdammer Platz protests the "economic chaos in the Western zones." In the background, the results of World War II, which many Germans seem to want repeated.

GERMANY

Nazi trumpets sound as election nears

ON the rolling plains of Grafenwoehr in Bavaria, top U.S. brass reviewed what newsmen called "the mightiest American military display in Europe since the end of the war." Conferring in the war room of the luxurious I. G. Farben building in Frankfurt, the U.S. joint chiefs of staff planned a grand tour of the continent. Their objective was a new anti-comintern; Germany figured in their plans as an arsenal and military supply depot.

In Duesseldorf magnates of the Ruhr came together to discuss control bodies for that powderhouse. They represented interests that held power in the Ruhr during the Hitler years and before. They were also linked with Morgan, Kuhn Loeb, Schroeder and Rockefeller of the U.S.

The wearing of the brown

On the agenda of each top-level conference was the German election scheduled for Aug. 14. German militarists and industrialists were again playing with votes as in pre-Hitler days. As after World War I, they did not put all their money on one horse, but backed a dozen rightist parties.

DEADLY REVIVAL: These include the brown-shirted German Right Wing Party, whose party song is **Deutschland Ueber Alles**; Otto Strasser's League for German Revival, the most Nazi of all; the Humboldt League, former officers who want to remilitarize Germany; the anti-Semitic Christ and World; the Deutsche Union founded by Hitler Youth Leaders and Nazis. Newspaper polls showed a swing to these and other rightist parties.

KURT SCHUMACHER
Germany first, then other things

Among the major parties, Ruhr money is on the Catholic Christian Democrats. Party leader Konrad Adenauer is a favorite of the Ruhr and a former director of the Deutsche Bank, around which are centered the most powerful Catholic financial interests. The party plugs "free enterprise."

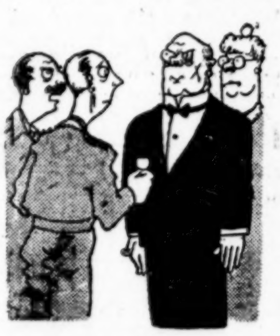
A pastoral letter from West German Catholic bishops was read in all Catholic churches this week. In effect, it told Catholics to vote Christian Democrat. Kurt Schumacher, one-armed, one-legged Social Democratic leader, bitterly denounced the letter as violating the new constitution which forbids clerical interference in politics.

OLD SONG: Schumacher's platform calls for socialization of basic industry, but what he is campaigning for looks more like nationalism than socialism. Appearing at mass meetings heralded by trumpet and song, he denounces the Western occupation and the dismantling program in tone and accents which remind some Germans of Hitler.

The number of Germans who believe Nazism was "a good idea badly carried out" has jumped from 40% in 1946 to 55.5% today, according to U.S. Military Government. The Nazi economic and social structure is intact.

Communist leader Max Reimann, white and weary after three months in a British Zone prison, told GUARDIAN correspondent Stanley Jay that the Communists consider the main program to be, not: shall Germany revive, but: who shall control the revived Germany—the same forces who brought on Hitler, or the German workers?

The German Communist Party claims between 250,000 to 300,000 members, Jay reported, but expects to draw one to one and a half million votes to elect 20 or 25 members to the new Parliament. In view of the Communist sh[illegible]ing in the recent mayoralty election [illegible] Mannheim, where they won 34.7% of the vote as compared to 17.8% in the 1947 election, some observers believe [illegible]he elections may turn up surprises.



Daily Express, London

"Quick, Pennyfeather, start some light, non-controversial topic before he has a chance to explain how much better everything would have been if Germany had won the war."

Moscow in midsummer

They talk about peace and friendship with us

By Ralph Parker

MOSCOW

MOSCOW, in these summer days, is a happier-looking city than I remember ever seeing it.

What's making the people sing—the schoolgirls, the workers in the fields, the youths in the trucks streaming through the center of the city?

First, of course, there is the sense of solid achievement which is producing material of higher quality and lower cost for work expended.

But there are, I think, deeper causes for happiness. The mighty world-wide peace movement has given people here confidence in the stability of peace.

TWADDLE: As for the story that the ordinary Russian people are being inculcated with the doctrine that all British and Americans are enemies, this is sheer twaddle.

Every book, play or film dealing with the handful of warmongers that hold such influential positions in British and American life lays heavy stress—heavier, indeed, than many British or Americans would consider warranted—on the decency, peaceableness and goodwill of the British and American peoples.

The day Gen. Doolittle spoke of the importance of the U.S. being ready, physically and morally, to bomb the Soviet Union's industrial centers, the inhabitants of those cities were putting the last touches to banners proclaiming the vital need for friendship between the Soviet, British and American peoples. The next day they proclaimed their belief in this slogan by carrying it aloft in the May Day celebrations.

UN-AMERICAN: What Hollywood producer, I wonder, would dare end a film on Soviet-U.S. relations with the hero declaiming: "Friendship between the Soviet and American people, that is the most important task before the world today!"? That's how Alexandrov's **Meeting On the Elbe** finished.

Not one of the several plays now running in Moscow theaters that deal with the aggressive plans of the warmongers contains a line that the most sensitive audience could interpret as offensive to the national honor of British or Americans. The average British or American audience would approve of most of these plays.

The puppet theater, whose last production poked fun at stock numbers on the Moscow music-hall stage, chose Hollywood as its target in **Under the Flutter of Your Eyeclashes**, the latest satire done by Sergei Obraztsov's uncannily alive puppets.

REDS UNDER THE BIZET: We see the birth of the idea of a film version of **Carmen** and its interpretation as a boost for Marshall Aid.

Smugglers make it plain to the audience that they are carrying cases of dried eggs, spam, Camel cigarettes, and an electric organ which plays an anthem of praise to U.S. generosity.

But with a turn in the international situation the producer decides to reshape the film into an anti-Soviet picture, in which Carmen is a "red agent" and the smugglers members of the collective farm, the "Red Biberry."

The skit plays to the accompaniment of a hot jazz version of Bizet's music.

THE NATION

Violence: the theme of Truman's America

A POLICEMAN watched on a Brooklyn fire escape while his estranged wife went to bed with another man. He then walked in, shot both and killed himself.

- A landlord, cursing the OPA, knifed a tenant. He explained: "They can't Joe Stalin me around."
- A Navy Grumman Hellcat fighter buzzed an airliner for a lark, causing it to "disintegrate" in flight. Sixteen lives were lost.
- A child specialist observed: "[illegible]n the committed delinquents appear [illegible]be of a more complex nature."

The mood of violence, the taste for death were pale reflections of the gaudy, blood-curdling talk that came out of Washington.

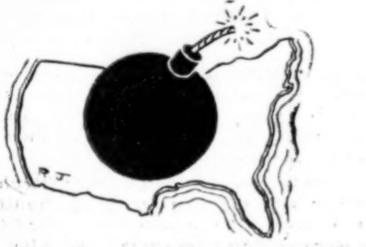
MASS DESTRUCTION: The Atomic Energy Commission sent its sixth an[illegible] report to Congress announcing an a[illegible]ic bomb far more destructive than our early models and revealing that the new model was in mass production.

W. L. Laurence of the N.Y. **Times** surveyed the grim production line and wondered: "If it is true . . . that the Nagasaki type bomb could effectively destroy the heart of an industrial city . . . what greater harm, save for the additional destruction of human lives, could an improved model do?"

Laurence quoted a French weekly (which he did not name) to the effect that the Russians had tried out an atomic bomb of their own. He scoffed at the notion, pointing out that our Geiger counters would have detected it.

Who knows what?

GUARDIAN's Stanley Karnow in Paris quoted the French weekly **Samedi Soir** (Saturday Evening) where the **Times** man left off: "American detectors distinctly registered three A-bomb explosions placed at 46 degrees north, 53 degrees east." (Off the coast of the Caspian sea.) The **Samedi Soir,** Karnow said, is not noted for accuracy.



GUARDIAN telephoned Father Joseph Lynch of Fordham University's Seismology Department. He said a seismograph (used to track earthquakes) could certainly pick up an atomic blast within a reasonable distance.

"Is Fordham within reasonable dist[illegible]e of Russia?" GUARDIAN asked.

"No," said the Father, "but seismographs might be set up close enough."

"Are there any working now?"

"[illegible] much as the Army and Navy are w[illegible]ng."

Father Lynch said: "I know much more than I care to tell you." Then he added that one of the things he did not know was whether a Russian atom blast had been recorded.

Cloak-and-dagger

CONGRESS was concerned with the more conventional weapons with which the U.S. was to implement the North Atlantic Pact. Public hearings on the President's $1,450,000,000 arms aid program were put off to Monday. At the week-end it was clear that the Administration was willing to submit the text of the bill to further editing before taking it to the floor.

Republicans left closed sessions of the House Foreign Affairs Committee with a great show of anger. James G. Fulton (R-Pa.) exploded: "What we'd like to know is whether Truman thought this cloak-and-dagger business up himself or whether it was put into the bill by a military clique or by some left-wing group in the State Department."

Chief target had been the President's demand for power to send aid to anyone anywhere in any capacity. At his Thursday press conference the President waived that point. The Republicans concentrated their fire on dollar costs.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN? Meanwhile people in many parts of the nation probed for the measure's real meaning. Richard Wilson, Washington correspondent of the Des Moines **Sunday Register,** wrote: "The cold war against communism, in a very real sense, is only beginning. . . . If military aid is voted by Congress . . . flying police squadrons against Communist uprisings are expected to be organized in the w[illegible]rn countries on the Italian model. T[illegible] are needed in France as well as some of the smaller countries. These squadrons seal off Communist riots with light tanks and other equipment which will be provided in the arms-for-Europe plan."

Walter Lippmann, in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** said that the real objective of the program was "a French army sufficiently large to . . . contain the German military revival. . . . The program makes no sense if it is supposed to create ground armies in a race with the Red Army."

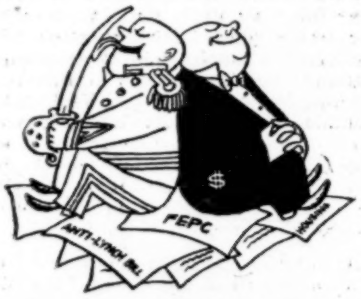
GUARDIAN's Max Werner has frequently said: "The program makes no sense."

WASHINGTON

Fair Deal remnant passes needle's eye

WHILE legislators talked loudly of arms and atom bombs, the fairest part of Harry Truman's Fair Deal was being quietly or deftly whittled down. The civil rights program was officially declared dead; the minimum wage bill "compromised."

The fight for an FEPC was given up in mid-week despite favorable action on it by the House Labor Committee. Action this session was dropped in return for a "firm commitment" from Administration leaders that it will be considered in January. No fight for the anti-lynch or anti-poll tax bill will be made in the Senate.



In the House, Administration leaders made a "compromise" with Dixiecrats and Republicans on the minimum wage bill. The President's pledge of expanded coverage was dropped. The measure, which calls for 75c an hour, is scheduled to reach the House floor next week. Despite the compromise, a strong effort to reduce it to 65c or less was to be made.

How much—how late

The Senate was still snarled in a long wrangle over an appropriations bill providing $5,647,724,000 for Marshall Plan funds, the Greece-Turkey program, and occupation expenses.

Sent back to committee once, the Senate finally killed an amendment that would have earmarked $1,350,000,000 for a gigantic dumping operation of U.S. surplus farm commodities. Sen. McClelland (D-Ark.), sponsor of the amendment, threatened at the end of the week to send it back to committee again. An amendment to cut Spain's dictator Franco in for $50,000,000 of Marshall Plan money was defeated 55 to 36, but another fight developed over an amendment to bar funds from a country charged with violating a treaty with the U.S. French Morocco was the target. The issue involved alleged unfair customs charges against 37 Americans in business in Casablanca; Sen. Carl Hayden (D-Ariz.) hinted that they might be black marketeers.

The Senate was running five weeks behind schedule on appropriations bills with $20,000,000,000 backed up in the logjam. Still to come was Senate debate on Truman's Atlantic Pact arms bill.

The swipers

A case of 2,500 matchbooks inscribed "Swiped from Harry S. Truman," and an ex-bootblack from Kansas City, figured in a Senate investigation of five per centers—men who get a commission for help in acquiring government contracts for clients. Probers reported few facts, but innuendos were plentiful and prompted two senators to introduce bills curbing five per centers.

James V. Hunt, a former lieutenant

Continued on following page

Max Werner

Even Gen. Bradley is now split down the middle

BEFORE leaving for his spectacular strategic trip to Europe, General Omar N. Bradley told the House Foreign Affairs Committee on July 29: "First, the United States will be charged with the strategic bombing. . . .The first priority of the joint defense is our ability to deliver the atomic bomb."

Yet less than four months ago, on April 6, while arguing for the Atlantic Pact, Gen. Bradley sharply attacked and unmistakably rejected the air-atomic strategy as "a strategy that would produce nothing better than impotent and disillusioned allies."

Was this criticism of the air-atomic strategy a slip of the tongue? No, it was not. Defining the military philosophy of the Army at Boston on Feb. 4, 1949, Gen. Bradley warned against an "easy and popular way to armed security through too heavy trust in air power." He saw a "danger in reckoning our safety on fantasy rather than facts." He concluded with a real indictment of the air-atomic illusions:

> **"By reckless reliance upon a knock-out blow in the opening months of a conflict we might unwittingly risk defeat."**

FEBRUARY WISDOM: Being a far-sighted soldier, Gen. Bradley stressed in that speech more than the military fallacy of the air-atomic strategy: he was then fully aware of the crushing moral and political risk of the atomic bomb. It was not a shallow sentence when, knowing the subject exactly, he warned:

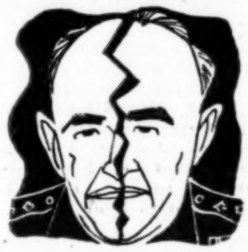
> **"Ours is a world of nuclear giants and ethical infants. We know more about war than we know about peace, more about killing than we know about living."**

The difference is capital. Only a few months ago he treated the atomic bomb with the deep strategic mistrust of an expert. Now he recommends it as a "normal" and effective weapon, and a weapon especially fitted to buttress the Atlantic Pact.

Gen. Bradley could not have been right both times. If he is right now, then he was wrong a few months ago. But if he was right in his statements of February and April, then he must be wrong now.

FEVERED BROWS: Maybe something has happened or changed since April in the military field which would justify his new stand with new reason? Nothing of the kind is known or has even been hinted. On the contrary, the stand of the Army **against** the air-atomic strategy now seems stronger than ever.

Among other things it is now clearer than before that an effective atomic strategy would require a tight air control all over Europe and Asia.



But such air control would demand an overwhelmingly strong air power, far stronger numerically than we built in World War II—and such an air power we do not have and **do not intend to build.**

Could it be that the Air Force and Navy majority have imposed the atomic point of view on the Army? But the Navy itself is skeptical: only a few weeks ago the Navy's brilliant Admiral Gallery publicly accused the atomic strategy of complete bankruptcy.

There are already about ten different military concepts fighting one another inside the Military Establishment. With General Bradley split from within, the crisis in our military planning is growing further.

Brothers and sisters, it's hot on that picket line

IN TEL AVIV, striking stevedores (left) cool off in front of the Histadruth (workers) house after a demonstration against the government's "austerity" plan to cut wages. IN PARIS 12,000 seamstresses (some are shown above, right) walked out on the eve of the fashion shows. So that the show might go on, customers like the Princess de Polignac bravely took up needle and thread, then collapsed over a champagne cocktail at the Cafe de la Paix. Besides the nobility of labor's cause, these pictures demonstrate one thing: all the world loves an ice cream cone.

Continued from preceding page

colonel in the Army Quartermaster Corps whose activities prompted the probe, was the man with the Truman matches, but the President disowned any acquaintance with him, said anybody could buy the things. The ex-bootblack was John Maragon who in the early days of Truman's Presidency had a White House pass and served on the 1946 mission to Greece. His testimony, dealing with disposal of government surplus property, was secret.

At the end of the week Secretary of the Army Gordon Gray was invited to tell about contracts for army uniforms.

Then another scandal broke: U.S. Controller General Lindsay C. Warren told Congress that an incomplete survey turned up fraud and waste of more than $11,500,000 in payments to government war contractors.

McCarran's war cry

Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.) was not to be stopped. He was convinced that United Nations officials were being terrorized by Communist agents. On Wednesday Secretary of State Dean Acheson found it necessary to reassure UN that the U.S. government was unmoved by McCarran's charges.

But McCarran, whose Judiciary Committee is conducting hearings on his bill to bar "subversive" aliens, was still following the same line of inquiry. His witnesses included the sister and professional denouncer of Gerhart Eisler, and J. Anthony Marcus, immigrant from Tsarist Russia who testified that most immigrants come here for the purpose of "stirring up political and labor trouble."

Last week McCarran had another startler for the U.S. Plumping for the arms-for-Europe program, he said: "War is inevitable and the sooner we get ready for it the better off we will be."

Congress Briefs

- The House, without a dissenting vote, passed and sent to the Senate a bill to increase veterans' pensions and disability benefits by $112,000,000 a year.
- A one-vote margin in the House Labor and Education Committee defeated a move to drop the whole aid-to-schools program. But the committee still must choose between three bills now before it.
- Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) introduced a bill for investigation of charges that the Treasury Department's Printing and Engraving Bureau discriminates against Negroes.
- Congressional leaders said Congress would remain in session for at least another month.

POLITICS

Tough Byrd

SENATOR HARRY F. BYRD's Virginia state machine remained tight and solid. In Democratic primaries last week the Byrd organization met and won the first threat to its control in 25 years. Byrd's man for governor, John Battle, won handily against three opponents. Leading challenger was Francis Pickens Miller who had some liberal, labor and Negro support. Byrd forces campaigned on "sound government" and violent opposition to labor.

HARRY F. BYRD
The hand is still in

Taylor: "Goodby PP"

SEN. GLEN H. TAYLOR of Idaho, Henry Wallace's Progressive Party running mate in 1948, last week told a nationwide radio audience: "I am no longer associated with the Progressive Party. . . . The American people do not want a splinter party."

Taylor, who never left the Democratic Party, indicated he felt he could fight most effectively in its ranks. His congressional record continues progressive.

Split elephant

THE Republican Party last week got itself a new National Chairman. He was Guy George Gabrielson, 55, wealthy New Jersey lawyer and banker with offices in Wall Street. The GOP publicity man tried hard to produce an "up from the farm" story (Gabrielson was born in Iowa), but his subject's big city suavity and club connections (Bankers, Union League, Harvard, etc.) crimped his literary style.

Gabrielson replaces Rep. Hugh D. Scott Jr. of Pennsylvania. A Taft man, he defeated Axel J. Beck of South Dakota, supported by Dewey, 52 to 47. The contest was bitter.

The result seemed to be a victory for Taft and the conservative wing of the party, but the vote was so close that it was obvious the split was far from healed. At the swank Shoreham Hotel in Washington last Thursday night, Rep. Scott, in a plea for harmony, begged the party not to commit suicide by wrangling. But he himself was pretty angry. He made sardonic cracks all through the committee session, and at one point remarked that he had served the shortest four-year term on record. He was chairman nine months.

LABOR WEEK

AFL CONVENTION

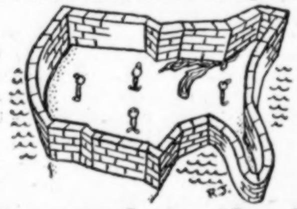
Bad—good—yes

DELEGATES to the annual convention of the New York State Federation of Labor last week in Syracuse ran into the country's toughest loyalty test.

Sample questions were: "What is your position on the World Federation of Trade Unions? . . . What is your opinion of President Truman's loyalty order? . . . What is your opinion of the trial of the Communist leaders in Foley Square? . . . What do you think of Tom Clark's subversive list? . . . [illegible] you support the Atlantic Pact?"

A.F.L.
ENTRANCE
R.J.

Four Bakers' Union delegates didn't pass and were not seated. One delegate was seated pending further investigation. Two leaders of New York City's food trades refused to submit their credentials when they learned of the catechism. Many unions in the state didn't bother to send delegates.



Forward on the left

IN November CIO President Philip Murray attacked the CIO United Office and Professional Workers' Union for failing to organize in its field. Last week the UOPWA made the charge sound empty. These were one week's victories:

- Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.: won an NLRB election by a handsome majority in most offices; will represent some 2,500 agents.
- John Hancock Life Insurance Co.: $5 a week raise for 5,600 agents; other provisions make the contract the best in the field.
- Home Life Insurance Co.: $6-a-week raise.
- Eagle Lion Film Exchange: $10-a-week raise and a better contract.
- Eldorado Oil Co., California: research men won limited patent rights on discoveries even though made on company time.
- In small publishing houses and social service agencies, pay raises of $3 to $5 a week.

UOPWA lost to the National Federation of Life Insurance Agents (AFL) in an NLRB election at Prudential Life Insurance Co.

Another left-wing CIO union under fire from Murray celebrated too: progressives in the big Chicago Swift local of the United Packinghouse Workers unseated a right-wing administration long in control. They not only won every office, but put a Negro stockyard worker in as president. The victory assured unity in upcoming negotiations with the packers.

FTA

Henderson vs. NLRB

EMPLOYER attacks and raiding by rival organizations were forcing more and more left-wing CIO unions into formal compliance with the Taft-Hartley Act: last week the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers union took the step. Donald Henderson, its president since its founding 12 years ago, resigned "as a protest against the Taft-Hartley law and against the signing of the unconstitutional non-Communist affidavit on principle."

The union accepted Henderson's resignation, promptly appointed him its national administrative director, and elected John Tisa acting general president.

The NLRB said the affidavits were insufficient. It seemed to board members that Henderson was still a union officer. They wanted a sharper definition of the duties of administrative director, a brand new post in the union.

SHIP AND AUTO

Curran: not now

Joe Curran, rightwing president of the CIO National Maritime Union, was due to be a lead-off witness this week

Continued on following page

Scandal in Los Angeles

The cops are on the run and the Mayor's in a jam

By Gene Richards

LOS ANGELES

LOS ANGELES politics, never a dull show, took on the excitement of a three-ring circus last week, and the stakes weren't peanuts.

A crusading County Grand Jury climaxed its three-month investigation of police-protected graft by indicting former Chief C. B. Horrall, who recently resigned under pressure, and four top aides. A couple of cops were accused of taking prostitution payoffs; the rest, including Horrall, were charged with perjury to cover them up.

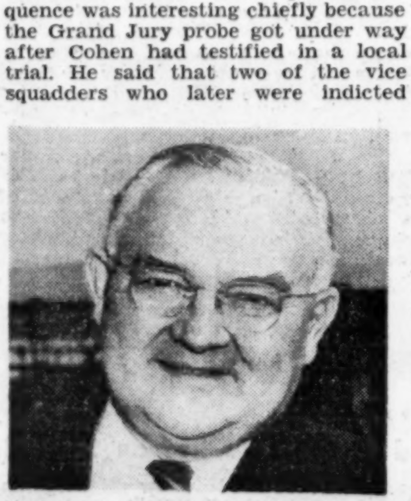
Horrall's dilemma was a political slap at backslid reform Mayor Fletcher Bowron, who recently barely scraped back into office.

THEY'RE MY BOYS: Bowron sprang to the defense of his cops, as in the past he has whitewashed them of charges of brutality against labor pickets, Negroes and Mexican-Americans.

County central committees of the Independent Progressive and Democratic Parties jumped in with sharp resolutions calling for Bowron's resignation. There was talk of a recall campaign similar to that which ousted Bowron's predecessor, the notorious Frank Shaw, in a nationwide headline scandal.

Gangland guns played a background staccato to the political high jinks. Underworld kingpin Mickey Cohen and four companions were shot outside a Sunset Strip nightclub. Four persons were put into a hospital and the books were closed on Cohen's pet gorilla, Edward (Neddie) Herbert.

MILKING TIME: The B-picture sequence was interesting chiefly because the Grand Jury probe got under way after Cohen had testified in a local trial. He said that two of the vice squadders who later were indicted had tried to milk him of $20,000 for Bowron's campaign.



FLETCHER BOWRON
They're really nice fellows

Into this political crossfire meanwhile dashed tough cop William Keyes, who a year ago pumped five bullets through the head of Augustin Salcido, 17-year-old Mexican-American lad, on a street corner. (He had previously shot two other Mexican-Americans).

Keyes had been out of the headlines since the Mayor & Co. had kissed off a vigorous civil rights campaign against him. In the small hours, Keyes dashed into a newspaper office, shouting he had been "shot at" for wanting to testify against his superiors' underworld connections.

JUST GO QUIETLY: It was soon discovered that Keyes already was under suspension and facing a hearing on charges of irregularities. Later he was permitted by the new police chief, ex-marine major William Wortin, to resign quietly.

This convenient disposition of Keyes' operations re-aroused progressives, who demanded a Grand Jury investigation of police treatment of racial minorities.

Six hundred organizations were asked by the Civil Rights Congress to bombard the Grand Jury with demands for such a hearing and a revision of the City Charter to put police discipline into the hands of a citizens' commission.

As the Grand Jury recessed for summer vacation, its foreman, Harry A. Lawson, announced a legislative interim committee would study the Charter and recommend changes to make the police department responsible to a civilian group.

Continued from preceding page

before the House Committee on Un-American Activities currently hunting witches on the waterfront. But Curran has a union convention coming up this fall and felt his appearance might be embarrassing.

Last week, at his request, the committee put off its probe until October—after the convention.

Reuther: a fight

It was a major and personal victory for Walter Reuther, president of the CIO Auto Workers Union, that the Milwaukee convention of his union voted to expel local officers Tracy Doll and Sam Sage. Leaders of the anti-Reuther opposition, they had published a union-suppressed report on racketeering in some eastern locals.

The union's constitution at the time of the convention provided that only locals could bring charges against union members, and last week their locals were backing Doll and Sage. They applied for a court injunction to prevent expulsion moves by Reuther headquarters.

MINERS

Healing old wounds

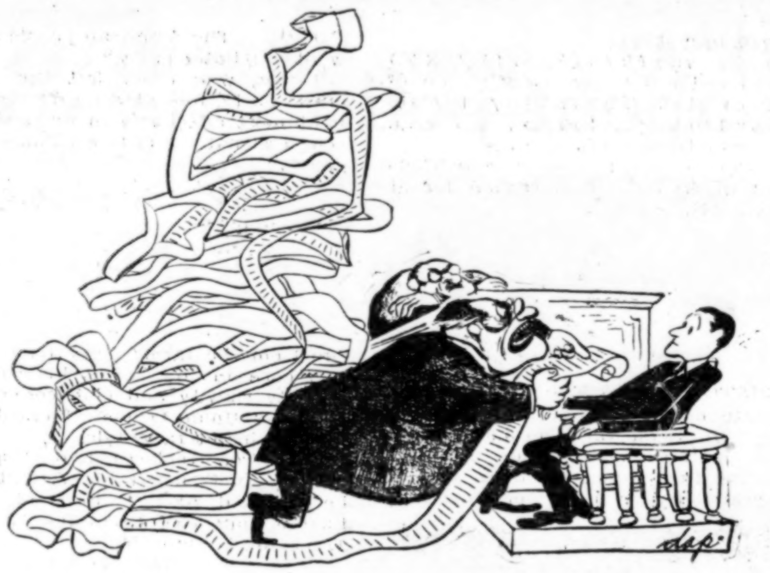
THE senators wanted to know what happened to the 20c a ton paid by coal mine operators into the United Mine Workers Welfare and Retirement Fund. The Banking and Currency Committee called to the stand Josephine Roche, once a coal mine operator herself in Colorado, now director of the fund. She had a simple answer: the money alleviated the "endlessly long accumulation of broken human beings, of human denials and want."

From July 1, 1948, to June 30, 1949, the fund paid out more ($104,880,785 to 393,097 beneficiaries) than it took in ($90,891,905). "Human liabilities of nearly 50 years are facing us," explained Miss Roche.

In death benefits the fund paid out $5,546,853 in $1,000 grants. Disability grants and assistance to widows took $64,206,596. Pensions of $100 a month went to 23,642 miners who had worked underground for 20 years or more. Medical, health and hospital service aided nearly 25,000 persons.

JOSEPHINE ROCHE
A half century of want

Each of the three trustees of the fund is paid $35,000 a year. But only Sen. Styles Bridges (R-N.H.) and mine operator Ezra Van Horn accept their salary; John L. Lewis does not draw his. The fund's administrative cost is phenomenally low: only 1.4% of total outlay.



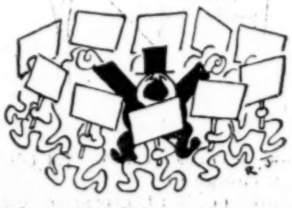
"Are you now or have you ever been a member of any one of these subversive organizations?"

Hawaii: Scabs!

ON FRIDAY Harry Bridges flew to Honolulu. For the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, of which he is head, he was getting there not a minute to soon.

For the first time since the dock walkout began on May 1, a ship loaded by scab labor sailed from the port. AFL seamen who had originally respected the picket line were ordered back to the ship by International Seafarer's Union headquarters. She carried a cargo of raw sugar bound for Philadelphia. Said strike leader: "We'll get her where she's going."

In San Francisco the Matson Navigation Co. announced it would load a freighter for Honolulu, attempt to unload it there. Strike leaders called it "obvious and simple strikebreaking." Two strikers were flown to Frisco to form a token picket line. The threat of a West Coast tie-up sent Matson officials into a huddle; by the end of the week the ship had not yet been loaded.



The island legislature, in special session, moved toward final passage of a measure that would permit the Territorial government to break the strike by going into the stevedoring business.

RELIGION

The three ladies who said "no"

MARYLAND's Ober Law requires all government employees to sign loyalty oaths or face dismissals. Last week three Quaker ladies prevented the law's enforcement by quietly but firmly refusing to sign.

Attorney General Hall Hammond was forced to advise city and state officials to take no action against non-signers until the law's constitutionality is tested by the courts. The Ober Law also sets up prison penalties for members of organizations declared by the state to be subversive.

The three Quakers, Baltimore city employees, are members of the Homewood Quaker Meeting which adopted a resolution of protest against the law. They are Dr. Miriam E. Brailey, director of the Bureau of Tuberculosis, Baltimore City Health Department; Miss Elizabeth Haas, Enoch Pratt Library; and Miss Doris Shamleffer, State Employment Commission. They said the law infringes on their religious convictions, penalizes thought and association, is coercive, totalitarian and subversive.

Call it off

A sharp demand that President Truman and Congress call off the cold war came this week from 2,000 delegates attending the 61st annual convention of the Southern California Christian Churches at Long Beach. They warned that military spending is plunging the nation "into bankruptcy and consequent loss of freedom," and called for a "more effective means to reduce the armaments race."

CIVIL LIBERTIES

THE TRENTON CASE

The Judge explains

THE shadow of Mercer County Judge Charles P. Hutchinson (he tried and sentenced them to death) still lies over the Trenton Six.

When the New Jersey State Supreme Court ordered a retrial Judge Hutchinson still withheld bail for the Six. This, notwithstanding the provision in the New Jersey State Constitution that bail shall be granted for all accused persons "except for capital offenses when the proof is evident or the presumption great."

The U.S. Supreme Court has expressly ruled out as evidence all forced confessions. The Trenton Six in court repudiated their alleged verbal confessions. It was clearly demonstrated that they had been drugged and beaten. Yet last week Judge Hutchinson said that at a retrial he would again admit those discredited "confessions" as evidence. He said it "was not necessary to decide the question on this motion as to whether or not the confessions were voluntarily made."

On the day before his ruling Judge Hutchinson admitted to bail the 26-year-old-son of a well-to-do owner of a printing firm. He had confessed to raping a crippled girl. Prosecutor Mario Volpe made no objection to bail for the rapist.

Lynch law moves to Times Square

HELL'S KITCHEN, a New York slum area west of Times Square, has always been a rough neighborhood. Last week Hell's Kitchen hoodlumism became political.

For weeks People's Drama, Inc., has staged a successful revival of John Wexley's **They Shall Not Die,** a dramatization of the Scottsboro case. For a theater they used the auditorium of a converted church now known as Yugoslav Hall at 41st St. and Ninth Av.

A month ago six men jumped Gregor Taksa, the show's manager, and beat him so severely he was incapacitated for 10 days. An actor who went to his defense had his clothes ripped off and was beaten.

CRITICS: Every night neighborhood roughnecks waited outside the theater and taunted the actors with "dirty communist" and "nigger-lover." Every night the gang grew bigger and rowdier.

By last week-end at least nine members of the show's cast and staff had been beaten. Ruth Tarson, an actress, was slapped until she fainted. Two actors were so severely injured they had to leave the cast. Three of the hoodlums were arrested.

AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION: Last week audiences were let in on what was happening. Now each night the audience waits in its seats till the actors change into street clothes. Then, flanking the actors, the entire audience marches in formation to the Times Square subway. Hoodlums follow with taunts and jeers, but there has been no more violence. The play's run has been indefinitely extended.

TRIAL OF THE 11

"Marshal, get busy"

IN New York's Foley Square, now grown curiously famous or infamous around the world as the trial of 11 U.S. Communist leaders nears the end of its seventh month there, Judge Harold R. Medina rounded out his rulings to strip defense attorneys of any right to present their case.

He had ruled out all testimony on lynchings showing what Communists had done to oppose such violence; blocked statements of what the Communists stand for; ordered attorneys to frame questions that do not lead to "harangues"; softly threatened to remove defense witnesses from the stand if questions were not asked to his liking; taken over the questioning of two witnesses himself; and accused witnesses who refused to name Communist associates of violating their oath.

On Wedneday he asked the marshal to put defense lawyers Richard Gladstein and Abraham J. Isserman down in their seats, charging them with "positively false statements (to make) me appear biased and prejudiced."

Spies in their hair

RUSSIAN spies are likely to turn up anywhere. This item is taken from the **Border News-Letter,** a mimeographed publication of the Progressive Party of El Paso County, Texas:

"Eugene Orta announces the opening of his barbershop at 604 Park Street.

"Mr. Orta was recently discharged from his job as a barber as a result of unjust publicity which said he was suspected of being a Russian spy. This fantastic accusation, although proved without foundation, cost Mr. Orta his job.

"Friends and well-wishers, who resented this smearing of the reputation of an innocent man, came to his assistance and advanced him enough money to open up his shop."

What every parent should know

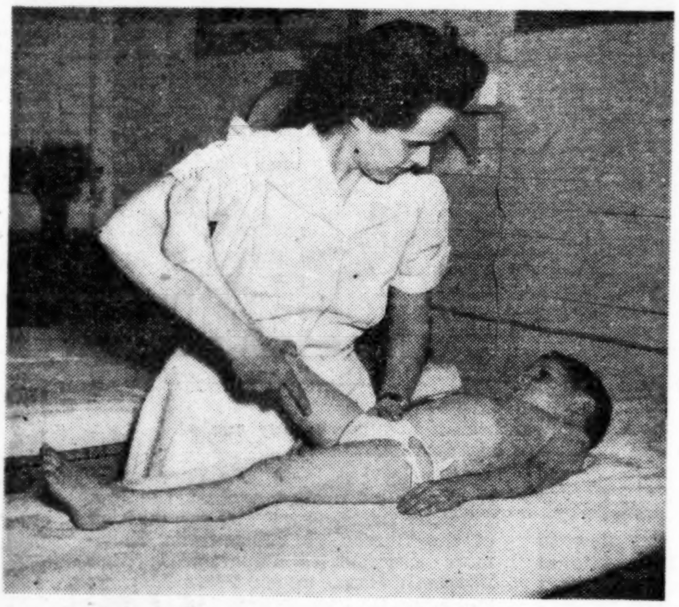
Plain talk about polio

By Lawrence Emery

MILLIONS of mothers in America last week were worrying about polio, the terror that strikes from nowhere and that all our scientific know-how has not been able to explain.

The papers told of mounting poliomyelitis (infantile paralysis) cases in state after state. It looked as if the year of the Atlantic Pact, the cold war and growing unemployment might be one of the worst polio years yet.

President Truman asked $1,450,000,000 as a first instalment for arming the Pact nations. On the same day Basil O'Connor, president of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, said the foundation may face a financial crisis if last year's figure of 27,895 cases is equaled in 1949. If that happens, he said, it will cost $22,000,000 in care of patients alone without expenses for continued research and personnel training.



At an emergency polio unit set up by the National Foundation in Greensboro, N.C., Lena Jenkins, trained at Warm Springs, Ga., stretches the hamstrings of Jerry Hensley of Elon College, N.C.

2 SMALL THINGS: An atom is a small thing. So is a polio virus—a bacteria so tiny that it can pass through the pores of the finest filters and cannot be seen with the greatest magnification now possible.

On harnessing the atom mainly to destroy nations with which we disagree, the U.S. has spent $632,000,000 in the year ending June 30, 1949. In the universities of Southern California, Utah, Kansas, and Pittsburgh, scientists are working on a joint project to find a vaccine or serum effective against polio (none is presently known). For this purpose they have a National Foundation grant of $1,370,000.

In Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Kentucky, Public Health Service teams are in the field trying to learn how polio is transmitted. Texas is hardest hit with 1,123 cases; Oklahoma, New York and Missouri come next in order, but the outbreak is pretty evenly distributed. The end-of-July total of 8,299 cases was 43% above last year's figure for the same date, and 1948 had been the second worst polio year on record.

A MYSTERY: Nobody knows exactly how polio is transmitted. There are three main theories: by contact through discharges from the throats of carriers; by fecal discharges; by flies. Carriers of the virus are always more numerous than actual cases, and there is no known way to discover or isolate those individuals who might pass it on to others.

The National Foundation itself says present knowledge cannot explain why epidemics occur when and where they do.

The period of incubation (time between infection and appearance of symptoms) has not been definitely established. It is usually given as between seven and 14 days, but may be as little as three, as many as 35. Neither is it known how long the virus remains in the human body after the disease has run its course.

Only one-half to three-quarters of all polio cases reach the paralytic stage. Even this figure may be high, since many non-paralytic cases are not reported.

COMMON CARE: In answer to the question, "Are there any specific measures to be taken to prevent polio?", the New York City Health Department answers: "No. General measures of hygiene and sanitation should be followed." Children should be bathed frequently, should wash their hands many times a day. Flies particularly should be kept from food.

As much as possible without restricting normal activities, children should be kept away from crowds and crowded areas. This includes parties, picnics and overcrowded swimming pools.

Don't let children get overtired during the polio season; some relation between fatigue and the paralytic stage of the disease has been found.

SEE A DOCTOR SOON: Children should be allowed to go to school. There is no evidence that closing schools will abate an epidemic, or that keeping them open increases one.

There is no objection to children traveling as long as they are not overtired, but they should not be taken from a community relatively free of polio to one where it is prevalent.

Operations in the nose, throat and mouth region, such as removal of tonsils or adenoids or the extraction of teeth, should not be undertaken during the polio season.

Best tip to parents: Seek medical advice at the smallest suggestion of a physical disorder in your child. First polio symptoms are often slight, usually an upset stomach accompanied by a fever. A stiff and painful neck follows. Caught early, permanent paralysis can usually be prevented.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Finding values in springs

SPENDING too much on bedsprings is even more frequent than the overspending on mattresses reported here last week. Merchants promote a combination of a soft innerspring mattress and a box spring which is not only expensive but unsanitary. For many people it is also too soft and they have to spend extra money for bedboards.

A firm spring, like the platform coil of convolute coil types, is most comfortable with an innerspring mattress. Because these springs are open and all metal, they do not need costly reupholstering from time to time, as do box springs, and do not shelter vermin. They also cost less than box springs. The platform coil spring has flat metal bands running along and sometimes across the top. The convolute type has several extra turns of wire at the top, which form a closed surface when you press down on them.

THE PERISHABLE TYPE: If you like a really firm bed—heavy people will find them most comfortable—your best choice to go with an innerspring mattress is simply an inexpensive metal flat spring. Avoid those made of fine strands of wire; they're comfortable but perishable. The sturdiest type is made with metal strips attached to ends and sides by spiral springs called helicals. The more lengthwise metal bands and helicals, the stronger the spring.

With a non-innerspring mattress, like an all hair or layer cotton felt, you need a more resilient spring. Best choice is an open coil spring without the flatmetal bands of the platform type described above.

Generally the best value in a bed is the Hollywood type, with or without headboard. This is simply a box spring or coil spring on legs. In this case too, our advice is to take the co[illegible] spring type, preferably with stabilizers on the sides. If yo[illegible] do buy the headboard type, one covered in plastic in simple tailored style is easier to keep clean.

Facts about depilatories

DURING the summer months, the feminine demand for depilatories to remove hair from legs results in some strange claims, dangerous products and painful experiences for unknowing users.

It is particularly important that women avoid buying electric needles for home use which are reported on sale in some sections of the country. Electrolysis is one of the few permanent hair-removal methods, but it must be done by an experienced operator. In the hands of an amateur, electrolysis may be extremely painful and may leave noticeable scars.

ODORLESS ONES BEST: Some of the chemicals for removing hair, especially the sulphide products, can also be dangerous unless used with great care. They dissolve hair, but may also injure the skin or painfully irritate it. You can detect sulphide products by their strong odor. Odorless chemicals are considered safer, but even then you can't be sure they don't contain an irritating metallic salt.

Another group of chemical depilatories generates oxygen. They're not considered especially dangerous—just worthless. Authorities say they merely bleach the hair so it's less noticeable. An inexpensive bottle of peroxide will do the same.

DON'T YANK TOO HARD: Waxes sold in stores are considered harmless unless used too often, but they certainly can be painful. The wax is applied to the skin. When it hardens, you yank it off and the hair comes with it. You can imagine how painful that sometimes is.

Another group of depilatories consists of pumice or other abrasive stones sold under various brand names at stiff prices. These rub off the hair. They have only a temporary effect, but these stones, or an occasional careful shaving of the legs plus the use of a bleach in between times, are the safest methods of hair removal during the bare-leg months.

Pots & Pocketbooks

Lincoln ate here

By Charlotte Parks

ALONG in the 1850's the Ladies of the Episcopalian Church of Springfield, Ill., wanted to raise money for a new church carpet. They decided to compile a church cook book and "Mrs. Lawyer A. Lincoln" sent in this recipe which she averred was Mr. Lincoln's favorite summer dish:

"Jellied chicken pie

2½ lb. round steak
(cut thick)
1 small veal knuckle
1 hen (5 to 6 lbs.)

"Cook steak, chicken and veal knuckle together till tender, finishing with one qt. gravy. Cool and allow to jelly. [The Lincolns had a fine cool basement]. Line deep crockery pie dish with light puff paste, fill with crumpled letter paper and affix cover of puff paste. When shell is baked and cool, take off cover and fill with the jellied meat, placing steak on bottom of pie shell and adding the boned chicken. Garnish with hardboiled eggs and replace lid. Should be made the day before eating."

We can just see Abe leaning contentedly back in his handsome walnut-furnished dining room and saying: "Mary, this pie is one of your masterpieces."

A MODERN VERSION: Jellied chicken pie is just as good today as in the **Gone With the Wind** era. Instead of roundsteak, substitute tiny chopped meat balls (about eight to a pound); add the chicken; instead of the veal bone add 1½ tbsp. of unflavored gelatine to a pint of gravy. Coming icy cold out of the refrigerator this makes a perfect main dish for Sunday dinner or the highlight of a summer buffet service.

YP leadership courses

THE Young Progressive Educational Foundation, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, will conduct its first National Leadership Institute at Clarion Acres, Monticello, N. Y., from Aug. 22 to Sept. 4. Fifty outstanding young progressives, Negro and white, from 32 states will be trained in the technique of organizing young people to further the fight for peace, jobs and civil rights.

The foundation has pointed out that there are 40,000,000 young people in the U.S. in need of progressive leadership, and that the institute is one of the means of providing it.

On the foundation's board of directors are C. B. Baldwin, Prof. Edwin Berry Burgum, Olin Downes, Dr. W. E. B. D[illegible] Bois, Prof. Henry Pratt F[illegible]child, Elinor S. Gimbel, Ewa[illegible] Guinier, Uta Hagen, Ray Lev, Paul Robeson and Henry A. Wallace. The Foundation's address is 19 W. 45 St., N. Y.

Chicago's Affaire Johnson

Negro home still an armed camp

Two weeks ago a Chicago mob smashed the windows and attempted to burn down the home of Mr. and Mrs. Roscoe Johnson, a Negro couple who moved into a "restricted" neighborhood. Last week Rod Holmgren told the story of the mob action and the rescue efforts by Chicago progressives. Below he brings the story up to date.

By Rod Holmgren

CHICAGO

PROGRESSIVE trade unionists have been sleeping almost every night at the Johnson home. One night, because of an agreement between Tom Wright, director of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations (an official agency of the city government), and Mrs. Johnson, they were not allowed to enter. Wright persuaded Mrs. Johnson to go through one night without protection just to see what might happen.

The next day Mrs. Johnson made it clear she wanted the trade unionists to keep coming.

Police then started refusing to let anybody enter the Johnson home until they had first been "frisked" and cleared.

Wright also persuaded Mrs. Johnson to get a new, unlisted phone number. She had been troubled by threatening phone calls day and night. Wright convinced her she must keep the number secret from everyone except his office and the police. She had been scrupulous in keeping her promise.

WHO GAVE IT OUT? Just the same, two such threatening phone calls were made to the Johnson home in the middle of the night. Obviously the number had been given someone by either the Commission or the police department. (The chairman of the Park Manor Improvement Assn., which has led the fight to keep Negroes out of the area, is Edmund Leary, a member of the police force. Many of the cops assigned to protect the Johnson home live in the same neighborhood. The Chicago **Defender** quoted one of them as saying to the Johnsons: "Didn't you know this is a restricted neighborhood?")

The police are doing everything possible to discourage the trade unions, Progressive Party and Civil Rights Congress from continuing contact with the Johnsons. On July 30, the cops told four trade unionists who showed up at the station that a group had already gone over and Mrs. Johnson "didn't want any more."

IT NEVER CAME: The trade unionists sent a telegram to Mrs. Johnson. An hour later, Western Union told them the telegram had been delivered. Next day, Mrs. Johnson told Mrs. Ann Prosten of CRC that she and her husband spent the night without anyone else in the house—and no telegram came.

On Aug. 2, the police cordon which had barricaded the street for two blocks on either side of the Johnson home was suddenly withdrawn. Only ten cops were left behind. By nine o'clock, a crowd of 150 people had gathered across the street and it remained until midnight. Instead of dispersing the crowd, the police built bonfires (the evening was cool) which attracted more people.

With barricades removed, traffic on the Johnsons' street was resumed. Throughout the night, Negro-baiters drove up to the Johnson home, parked, shouted their invectives, and then moved on.

THE BROKEN GLASS: The Chicago Commission on Human Relations insisted that all windows which had been broken on the first night of the attack on the Johnson home had to be replaced. The Johnsons, who have no money to pay for installation of new panes, presumed the Commission would foot the bill. On Aug. 2, the bill arrived at the Johnsons.

The six progressive trade unions whose members have been volunteering to sleep at the Johnson home nightly are now raising a fund to pay for replacement of windows, for furniture that was burned or smashed, and for food.

Mrs. Johnson is a Catholic. She attended nearby St. Columbanus Church Sunday—with a police escort. No mention was made at any point in the service of the tense situation in the neighborhood. Nobody in the church greeted her.

'We're huntin' niggers!'

By Ralph David

CHICAGO

I WAS at the Johnson home until about 11:30 the night after the attack. As I was being driven out of the barricade which the police had set up, we saw thousands lining the side walks and streets. One car, about 100 feet ahead of us, was under attack. We saw bricks bounce off it and one crash through. We stopped and I asked a white-haired old lady what was up. She answered with all the venom she could summon: "We're huntin' niggers!"

It was about 11 p.m. when I reached the barricade the following night. A slightly bald little man was leading a mob of hooters against me when Father Clarence Parker of St. Marks Episcopal Church came through the barricade with Rev. Bushee and David Mitchell, a sympathizer. He told the policemen I was okay but they demanded he check with the lieutenant.

THE mob followed and began shoving so that before Father Parker had finished his question, policemen swarmed down on us to "break it up!" and "get moving!" We could not stand there, so we returned to the barricade.

Bushee and Mitchell could not even get back inside the blockade before the little man and his mob came back. Of the 40 to 50 people there, the police grabbed Bushee and Mitchell to "break up the crowd." Father Parker grabbed the arm of the arresting officer and told him they were all right, but Bushee and Mitchell were thrown in the paddy wagon while the crowd cheered. Then a policeman grabbed an agitator. The crowd shouted: "No, no! He's okay!" and the policeman let him go.

We drove to police headquarters to bail out Bushee and Mitchell and I wanted to ask about getting a permit. "Whaddaya need a permit for?" the desk sergeant bellowed. "This is a free country."

THE next morning I brought the groceries in to the Johnsons, and as I left, a man who had threatened me the night before, jumped me. He had just got a few punches in when two policemen arrested him. I went along to headquarters to make out the complaint. His friends followed in a red Buick to arrange for bail.

Several hours later, my father called and urged me to drop the complaint. "If you go through with it, I'll lose my job," he said. That night, a crowd of people watched my house from a red Buick. I slept at a friend's place. This has gone on every night since then.

Ralph David is a University of Chicago student, a member of Young Progressives of America.

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Report to readers

A Trenton case in North Carolina

GOING over the record of Progressive Party activity and achievement in 300 or more U.S. communities since election (in connection with Glen Taylor's description of the PP as a splinter party that too few want), I came face to face with the case of the Daniels boys in Greenville, N.C.

To Lloyd Ray Daniels, 16, and Bennie Daniels, 17, the PP "splinter" in North Carolina right now spells the difference between life and death.

Every day between now and October is vital to the Daniels boys. And the PP is the only organization fighting for their lives.

HERE is the story: On Saturday night, last Feb. 5, a white cab driver and a white woman drove away from a Greenville dance together. After they left, another car took off after them. Several miles away, at a crossroads near the community of Williamston, people at a corner service station and grocery saw a cab turn off the highway into a lovers' lane in the woods.

SPLINTER
JIM

Another car chased after it. In the group at the gas station were the Daniels boys, cousins. They had been at a Negro dance and had been in a fight. There was blood on their clothing. They and others at the gas station remarked on the speed of the car pursuing the taxi.

NEXT morning, Sunday, the cab driver, William Benjamin O'Neal, was found beaten and dead in the woods beside his cab. Spread on the ground nearby was a woman's coat. Contraceptives were picked up, also a woman's purse and gloves. In the crowd that gathered, a white man remarked: "I told O'Neal something was going to happen to him over that married woman. . . ." Someone told him to hush.

A woman's tracks were found leading from the scene of the killing to a highway. Later the woman was tracked further to where, still bloody, she caught a bus. Still later she was traced to the town of Washington, N.C. Her identity is known.

This woman and her husband were never brought into the case by the police. Instead, immediately following discovery of the body, police descended on the Negro community nearby, where the Daniels cousins live. They picked up the Daniels boys on reports that they had blood on their clothes. They took them into the woods. As the GUARDIAN reported many weeks ago, the police beat them and threatened to kill them on the spot unless they confessed. The boys signed confessions.

THE trial was a travesty. No test was made of the blood on the boys' clothing. No fingerprints were introduced, although a fingerprint record was taken at the scene. Neither the woman nor her gloves or purse were introduced at the trial, although the purse was declared to figure in the crime, on the charge that the boys had taken money from it. Only evidence against the boys was their "confessions."

On Memorial Day the boys were sentenced to death in the gas chamber. Notice of appeal was filed and a stay of execution saved them from dying together last July 15.

Although the prosecution was able to prevent any evidence concerning the woman from being presented at the trial, they could not prevent trade union and Progressive Party people from digging up and making public this evidence, at the risk of their lives.

An appeal is now being prepared by two Negro attorneys, to be presented in October.

The Daniels boys are penniless; so are their folks. Their only supporters are the Daniels Defense Committee organized by Progressives and others in North Carolina, which has been attacked by the state administration. State agencies have made every effort to block solicitation of funds for the defense.

IF you do not help, the Daniels boys will very probably die for a crime known to have been committed by someone else. You can help by sending as much as you can afford to Nathaniel Bond, treasurer, P.O. Box 1601, Durham, N. C.

For $1 per 100 you can get from Durham folders telling the full story of the case. Mail these to your friends and associates and ask them to join you in saving the lives of Lloyd and Bennie Daniels.

THE Daniels case is, by ironic twist, a Trenton case of the South. And, like the Trenton case, it has received virtually no publicity in any U.S. newspaper other than NATIONAL GUARDIAN, which has carried two accounts of it not including this column. According to our friends in North Carolina, the GUARDIAN's coverage has been more than all the Carolina papers put together.

If you write for folders on the case, make sure your local paper editor gets one. He may never have heard of the case, because of the press service blackout on news of this sort.

Yours for a million GUARDIAN readers,

John T. McManus

Peace crusade moves to Mexico

No passport needed

MEXICO CITY

NORTH and South American delegates to the great Paris Peace Congress last spring will carry forward the peace offensive as primary sponsors of an American Continental Congress for World Peace, to be held here Sept. 5-10.

Through the week a series of art exhibits, dance recitals, plays and concerts will be presented in honor of the delegates. Urging "all cultural, trade union, religious, women's, youth, farm and fraternal organizations concerned about peace" to send delegates, the U.S. sponsoring committee points out that the round-trip bus fare from New York is only $75.86, and no passport is required—only a tourist card.

Congress vice presidents include scientist Linus Pauling and sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois for the U. S.; archaeologist Alfonso Caso (Mexico); sociologist and author Fernando Ortiz (Cuba); scientist Artur Ramos (Brazil); writer Joaquin Garcia Monge (Costa Rica). Enrique Gonzales Martinez, dean of Mexican poets, is president.

Rabbi Michael Alper and novelist Kay Boyle (U. S.) have endorsed the Congress and sponsors include poet Pablo Neruda (Chile); nuclear physics professor Mario Schemberg (Brazil); Roman Catholic theologian Domingo Villamil (Cuba); labor leader Vicente Lombardo Toledano and painter Diego Rivera (Mexico); Manitoba (Canada) MP W. G. Doneleyko. And in the U. S., author Thomas Mann, sculptor Jo Davidson, Bishop Arthur W. Moulton, astronomer Harlow Shapley and GUARDIAN'S Jennings Perry.

"Each country of the Americas," says the call, "needs to gear its life to the free, normal and increasing development of its natural resources without foreign interference or detrimental subordination. War preparations and accompanying anti-democratic measures hinder this. Therefore the powerful demand for peace by the people from Alaska to Patagonia must be expressed at the Continental Congress in Mexico."

DIEGO RIVERA

HARLOW SHAPLEY

Books for Progressives

Sholom Aleichem — tears and sunlight

By Ralph Peterson

IT'S a curious fact that Sholom Aleichem is the best-known Jewish humorist, yet his reputation has been strictly word-of-mouth, passed in the telling from family-to-family and place-to-place in modern Jewish society. Now scholars are revising their earlier estimate of him as "the greatest Jewish humorist" and seriously classifying him as "one of the greatest writers of our time."

Principals in the Aleichem renaissance were Frances and Julius Butwin, progressive scholar-booksellers of St. Paul, Minn. Three years ago they published the first collection of Aleichemia, **The Old Country.** Before it reached print, Julius Butwin died. He is forever mourned by all midwesterners who knew him as something of a Sholom Aleichem himself. But his widow continues with the work they started, in the book **Teyve's Daughters**—an unforgettable watershed of tears and sunlight.

THE LAUGH IN THE SPACE: The greatest writers in too many languages are buried from world view under their language, and it takes extraordinarily skilled and inspired translators to unearth their genius accurately. Both Butwins had that talent.

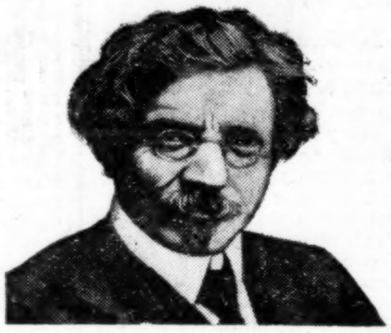
Aleichem himself used to say: "Yiddish is a wonderful language. You can understand every word of it."

Even so, it is remarkably true that much of Aleichem's charm lies not in the original Yiddish nor in the translation, but in the white spaces between his words in any language. Implied laughter is inevitably Yiddish, and particular in Aleichem.

NOT GOD, BUT PEOPLE: The milk-seller Teyve had seven daughters, who caused him extreme mental anguish: they had wider ideas common to new generations, and a lack of proper respect for older institutions—such as Teyve.

In her introduction, Mrs. Butwin observes that the only thing resembling bitterness she found in Aleichem's character Teyve—probably his most complicated character—was this reflection: "I wasn't worried about God so much. I could come to terms with Him one way or another. What bothered me was people. Why should people be so cruel when they could be so kind? Why should human beings bring suffering to others and to themselves when they could all live together in peace and good will?" Teyve himself as a person—and his creator, Aleichem—show the anatomy of that worry, and underline the artificial sources of human cruelty.

TEYVE'S DAUGHTERS. By Sholom Aleichem. Translated by Frances Butwin. Crown. 302 pp. $3.



SHOLOM ALEICHEM
It means: "Peace be with you"

•

JOHN PEN's magnificent novel on Hungarian poverty, **Temptation,** became a moderate bestseller when it appeared in 1946. Since, it has become a legend where great literature is recognized. Citadel, a liberal publishing house distinguished by its contributions on Thomas Paine, Jack London, and other social thinkers, has done America a great service—both by reprinting the book and by halving its price.

Superbly written in a style reminiscent of Dostoevsky, **Temptation** is the story of one poor Hungarian lad, Bela—from his illegitimate birth in a country town to his struggle for survival in the tenements of Budapest. Few novels published in our time show so forcefully the universal nature of the struggle against poverty that occupies most of humanity. None, to my mind, does it with such a combined impact of horror and sympathy.

TEMPTATION. By John Pen. Citadel. 616 pp. $1.98.

Roving reporter in Poland

Showdown near between Church and State

By Richard A. Yaffe

WARSAW

THERE is no doubt that the air is tense and that the showdown between the Polish government and the Vatican is close. There is also no doubt that the government is preparing for the showdown. The immediate reaction to the so-called "Miracle of Lublin" proved it. This happened a few weeks ago when the rumor spread that the Virgin's picture in the Cathedral at Lublin was weeping. The word spread quickly and thousands of Poles, mostly peasants, dropped their scythes in the middle of the harvest to flock to Lublin. One person was killed and 19 were hurt in the crush.

QUICK ACTION: It would have been easy to yield to provocation and close the Cathedral, as was suggested by some Catholic leaders who could have said: "Look, the Communists have closed your Church." Instead, a statement was issued immediately that the church would remain open, but that clergy was expected to clear up the matter of the "miracle" pronto. To have closed the church would have precipitated the showdown on the Vatican's territory. The action might have rallied the faithful into blind resistance.

The government chose its own terrain—the mines, mills and factories, where meetings were called at once. Resolutions were passed against those responsible for spreading the rumor and calling for their prosecution. The press was filled for days with full texts of the resolutions from every corner of Poland, from nearly every shop that had a few workers to the huge nationalized establishments with thousands. In the face of this, the fight became unequal, and a clerical statement that there had been no miracle was the inevitable result.

NOT SO STRANGE: But some damage had been done; several precious days had been lost away from the fields and, what is worse, a great many peasants had been whipped into an old-time religious frenzy. That this could have happened is not such a shocking fact when one remembers that Poland is the most Catholic country in Europe, only four years removed from deep feudalism and disturbed by the long occupation and the following abrupt change in the social system.

So far, the Polish government has ignored the Vatican's threat of excommunication for Catholics who are Communists or who cooperate with Communists, and no pastoral letter relating to the Vatican's position has yet been read from the pulpits of the Church. It seems to me that each side is waiting for the other to make the first move, and neither is as yet willing to make that move.

CROWDS IN THE RAIN: It was perhaps no accident that the "Miracle of Lublin" came so close to the great national Polish holiday on July 22, the fifth anniversary of the creation of the provisional government in Lublin. But if there had been any thought that the play would be taken away from the holiday, the hope was also in vain. The outpouring in Warsaw was tremendous, despite the rain. This was a workers' and youths' demonstration, and more than 100,000 of them marched past the reviewing stand.

There were no soldiers, no tanks, no guns. The only plane visible was a newsreel crate of Film Polski, and the only implements carried were the picks and shovels of the Youth Brigades. And in the evening, the squares were jammed with Poles of all ages, dancing in the downpour, the rain running from their glowing faces.

STRENGTH IN PEOPLE: It is Sunday as I write this—two days after the great national holiday. Outside my window I can see three large churches. There is a steady stream of worshippers going in and out.

The realistic leaders of Poland must see them too, from their windows, because it is almost impossible not to see a church in Poland, no matter where you look. The realistic leaders of Poland know the Church's strength, but they also know their own.

First and foremost, their weapon is the people, particularly the working man and woman; then there are jobs, bread, health, security and education. And for the peasant there is all this and land too.

THE NEW POLAND—JULY 22, 1949
Full of hope, they didn't mind the rain

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